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in Sociology*

Social Systems

By

Charles P. Loomis

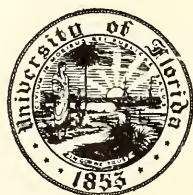
ELEMENTS, PROCESSES AND CONDITIONS OF ACTION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
THE PROCESSUALLY ARTICULATED STRUCTURAL MODEL (PASM) †

| Processes (Elemental) | Structural-functional Categories | Elements |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Cognitive mapping and validation | Knowing | Belief (knowledge) |
| 2) a) Tension management and b) Communication of sentiment | Feeling | Sentiment |
| 3) a) Goal attaining activity and b) Concomitant "latent" activity as process | Achieving | End, goal, or objective |
| 4) Evaluation | Norming, Standardizing, Pattern-ing | Norm |
| 5) Status-role performance | Dividing the functions | Status-role (position) |
| 6) a) Evaluation of actors and b) Allocation of status-roles | Ranking | Rank |
| 7) a) Decision making and b) Initiation of action | Controlling | Power |
| 8) Application of sanctions | Sanctioning | Sanction |
| 9) Utilization of facilities | Facilitating | Facility |
| Comprehensive or Master Processes | | |
| 1) Communication | 3) Systemic linkage | 5) Socialization |
| 2) Boundary maintenance | 4) Institutionalization | 6) Social control |
| Conditions of Social Action | | |
| 1) Territoriality | 2) Size | 3) Time |

† For a more detailed version of this figure see page 8.



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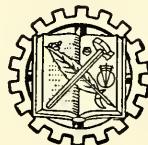
SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Essays on Their Persistence and Change

by

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Research Professor
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The essays of the present volume are primarily a product of the author's sustained interest in change. His own research undertakings have increasingly dealt with social phenomena possessing extreme change potentials such as those occurring on national borders; in expanding underdeveloped areas; and, at the other extreme, those displayed by relatively static societies such as that of the Old Order Amish (Essay 5). For the analysis of such phenomena the author developed the conceptualized social system as a basic research model. Put to such use, the model provides the investigator with a frame of reference from which to view the empirical data he is about to collect. Meanwhile it was increasingly apparent that without systematization, the wide range of pertinent data amassed by the many social scientists active in the field of social change defied over-all analysis and scientific generalization. Accordingly, the author undertook to apply the research model to studies already completed, and in so doing, somewhat altered its formulation. In its present form the model as presented in Essay 1 is designed to facilitate on-going empirical investigations and to systematize assorted data. Put to this latter use, the model provides the analyst with a somewhat standardized measure by which very differently conceived research undertakings may be analyzed and compared. Essays 2-7 in the present volume are examples of this second usage—the application of a theoretical research model to variously derived data. Each of the substantive essays represents an area of interest

which possesses heavy implications for change or resistance to change. They have been chosen from some dozen similar essays for their variety. As analyses of social change, they are illustrative rather than exhaustive. The reciprocity in the analytical process, of empirical data and theoretical schema is suggested by this brief developmental account; the essays themselves may for some readers make this mutuality abundantly clear.

Mutual influences can also be observed between the analyses set forth in the present volume and those in a companion volume devoted to the writings of modern social theorists whose sociological contributions are analyzed by the same conceptual scheme herein employed. Although the actual writing of the companion volume, *Modern Social Theories*, followed some in point of time the first draft of the present work the two manuscripts actually evolved together. The present group of essays, for example, clearly shows the influence of theories propounded by Howard Becker, Kingsley Davis, George C. Homans, Robert M. MacIver, Robert K. Merton, Talcott Parsons, Pitirim A. Sorokin and Robin M. Williams, Jr.

The conceptual scheme had its genesis in the classroom teaching of a graduate course introduced by the author at Michigan State University in 1945 entitled *Contemporary Social Systems*. It represents, so far as is known to the author, the first university course designation anywhere employing the term "social system." Its basic concepts were the subject of the author's Presidential Address to the Rural Sociological Society, Chicago, December 1948: "The Nature of Rural Social Systems—A Typological Analysis," first published in *Sociometry*, Vol. 2, No. 3, August 1948. The concepts were progressively developed in the texts by the present author and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950) and *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1957). Its present form represents a response to the research needs described above, as well as to the prevailing theoretical activity which has so rapidly enriched the social system as a construct.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Like all teachers the author owes a great debt to his many students, past and present, whose reactions tacitly but reliably convey to the would-be author such messages as "unsound," "amplify," "throw out," "clarify," as well as the occasional nod of approval. The author is indeed grateful for the scrutiny of his own evolving ideas by many fine minds. May their possessors be assured that salutary comments are as welcome now as they once were in the classroom.

More forthright have been the criticisms of many colleagues chief among whom are C. Arnold Anderson, William D'Antonio, Arthur K. Davis, Walter Firey, William H. Form, Hiram Friedsam, John T. Gullahorn, Robert C. Hanson, Iwao Ishino, Ronald G. Klietsch, William H. Kolb, Marion J. Levy, Jr., Wilbert E. Moore, Harry E. Moore, Julian Samora, and Robin M. Williams, Jr. Their constructive intellectual skirmishes have been invaluable to the enterprise. Essay 1 bears many traces of the influence of John C. McKinney, one-time junior author of a similar proposed essay and co-teacher with the author of an advanced theory course. The fact that none of these friends and associates are in any way responsible for the shortcomings of the essays in no way diminishes the value of the help they have rendered. Each of the essays has been prepared with the general assistance of Zona K. Loomis who has made substantial contributions to all of them and has assumed junior authorship of Essays 6 and 7.

For proof reading and editing the author is indebted to the

contributions of junior staff members Eugene C. Erickson, Clyde R. McCone and Carl R. Jantzen at Michigan State University. For willingness to perform secretarial services often in excess of line of duty the author thanks Bernice H. Donley, Angeline McCone, Vera Krause and Marcia Stamm; their cooperative attitudes as well as the quality of their work are appreciated.

Finally, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to the United States Public Health Service and to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for financial support which has made possible not only the field investigations elsewhere reported which are so closely associated with the development of the author's conceptual scheme, but also for the research activities directed toward the broader application of the research model and toward the integration of findings as exemplified in these essays. Work undertaken at the behest of the United States Public Health Service under Project W 108, Anglo-Latino Relations in Hospitals and Communities, while clearly directed toward a focus on aspects of health and treated in Essay 7, has also yielded many residual findings of a more general nature. Investigations supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York specify a wide latitude of social research which is reflected in the broad and varied topics treated in the seven essays none of which would have been possible in their present form without the generous support of that corporation.

C. P. L.

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ESSAY 1

SOCIAL SYSTEMS: THEIR ELEMENTS, PROCESSES, AND PATTERNS

Man employs science to develop understanding, improve prediction, and increase his control of the universe. In this undertaking, there has developed a division of labor among the various sciences making it possible for each science to specialize upon a small core of the infinite phenomena of the universe. Each science employs appropriate procedures and techniques within a frame of reference or system of concepts and ideas concerning the pertinent relations of its special class of phenomena. In the following introductory and defining paragraphs sociology's frame of reference will emerge, yielding the discipline's particular phenomena which is *interaction*, characterized by patterned *social relations* that display in their uniformities social *elements*, articulated by social *processes*, the dynamics of which account for the emergence, maintenance, and change of *social systems*. After a brief discussion of fundamental concepts what is called the Processually Articulated Structural Model (hereafter called the PAS Model) will be presented. In other essays of the present volume the PAS Model is employed in the analysis of social and economic development, disruption and disaster, religious social systems, a community, educational systems, and health systems.

The frame of reference of sociology. Activity may be defined as any event involving the use of energy. It is thus a generic term. The social sciences in large measure limit their frame of reference to human activity and approach its analysis by use of the "action" frame of reference which, although similar to some usages of

the behavioral frame of reference in that it concerns what people do, avoids some of the limiting connotations of stimulus-response "behaviorism." Social action is the activity of social units.¹ Within this action frame of reference all of the social scientists make certain assumptions:

1. *Action takes place in situations*; human beings act in situations including relevant aspects of the physical and social world. ("Situation" is used in preference to the general term "environment" not only to avoid some of the biological connotations of the latter term, but also to incorporate the "social situation" and part of the process, "the definition of the situation" so effectively used by W. I. Thomas and his followers.)
2. *Action is conducted in terms of anticipated states of affairs*; human beings orient their behavior toward ends, objectives, or goals—or otherwise attempt to adjust to anticipated states of affairs.
3. *Action is motivated*; human beings expend energy or effort in carrying out their action and hence demonstrate "motivation."
4. *Action is normatively regulated*; human beings conduct themselves in an orderly fashion thereby indicating "regulation" or the normative orientation of activity.

The more specialized frame of reference of sociology is limited to *reciprocal action* or *interaction*. Interaction as a special type of action (or activity, terms which are here used as synonymous) loses none of the aforementioned attributes of activity, but is distinguished by additional attributes. The important characteristics of interaction include:

- 1) a plurality of actors
- 2) communication between the actors by means of a set of symbols
- 3) a "duration" or time dimension possessing a past, present, and future, which in part determines the character of the on-going action
- 4) an "objective" whether or not its specification from the viewpoint of the actors coincides with that of an objective observer.

The separate activities of the actors involved in a particular case of interaction are not sufficient to explain the "meaning" of the interaction. The meaning lies not in the unit acts of the participating actors but in the interaction itself which constitutes a legitimate and important subject of study, and in its own right becomes the specialized phenomena with which sociology deals.

THE PHENOMENA WITH WHICH SOCIOLOGY DEALS

"Interaction," the core datum of sociology, has been defined as "any event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."² It is a reciprocal and interdependent activity, designated as having the quality of complementarity or double contingency.³ Reciprocal activity or interaction that is repeated and persists comprises *social relations*. Social relations exist between or among incumbents of status-roles such as mother-father and buyer-seller. Those social relations between or among actors who are intimate, affective, and/or have a common goal are defined as *bonds*. The range of the phenomena of interaction is wide and includes, as will be elaborated later, that which is affective or affectively neutral, diffuse or functionally specific in the scope of actor involvement, patterns of norms that are particularistic or universal, status-roles that are ascribed or achieved, and solidarity ranging from collectivity to self-orientation.⁴ Regardless of their varied nature, all interaction reveals certain uniformities.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SOCIETY, AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Interaction tends to develop certain uniformities over time, some of which tend to persist. As they are *orderly* and *systematic*, they can be recognized as *social systems*. Because the *social system* is composed of identifiable and interdependent parts it is said to possess *social structure*. Sociology, like other sciences, is concerned with the *orderliness* or *uniformities* involved in its particular class of phenomena, and it finds this order in the *social system*. It is very much concerned with two very different kinds of order found in interaction. On the one hand it is concerned with order resulting from factors in the situation over which the members of a given social system have no control or order imposed from what

may be called the conditions of action. An example of this type of order is that imposed by man's limited physical mobility as related to the factor, geographical space which makes it impossible for an actor to be at two geographical points at the same time. On the other hand sociology is concerned with norms which determine what is evaluated as just or unjust, true or false, and beautiful or ugly and what are considered appropriate responses to these evaluations.

The *social system* is composed of the patterned interaction of members. It is constituted of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations.

A means of delineating a social system is furnished by the more intense and frequent occurrence of *specific types of interaction* among members than among non-members, within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects. However, this simplified means of delineating social systems requires accurate use. It has been observed, for instance, that actors of a given family whose members are scattered about in an industrial society may retain solidarity as a family but interact less frequently with family members than with non-members on the job and in other places. Because there is a difference in the type of interaction and resulting bonds among the family and non-family members, the phrase "specific types of interaction" in the definition is important. Among the dimensions that may determine the type of interaction are extensity, intensity, duration, direction (i.e. whether solidary or antagonistic), and nature and extent of integration.⁵

Any level of interaction furnishes examples of social systems:⁶ the direct, face-to-face, personal interaction of two actors, or the indirect, enormously interlinked, impersonal interaction of a society. The concept of the social system enables the analytic observer to move from a given sub-system to the larger societal system and back again. It is equally legitimate to examine American society and the relations of the doctor and his patient, since both constitute social systems exhibiting an orderly uniformity of interaction. It is the uniformity, not the people, which is termed

“society.” For an understanding of “society” or any of the systems that exist in “society” and in a sense compose it, attention must be turned to the uniformities of interaction.⁷

Society is constituted of reciprocal activity which is structured and differentiated into a variable number of systems, some of them quite distinct, highly structured, and persistent; others are not so directly visible, are more amorphous, and more transient. All are interlinked in such a manner that one sees different systems according to the perspective taken. Whatever system one is viewing, whether it be the “master system” society or any of its component sub-systems (community, family, etc.), *the elements that constitute it as a social system and the processes that articulate it remain the same*. Put simply, society and its parts are not made of different stuff; on the contrary, certain persistent elements and processes appear at all levels of orderly interaction. As a consequence these elements are conceived as general components of social systems and these processes are seen as general articulators; both are important for the analysis of social action in general.

THE ELEMENTS

An element is simply one of the constituent parts of some larger whole. Thus in chemistry an element is one of a limited number of distinct varieties of matter which, singly or in combination, compose every material substance. An element, then, is the unit of analysis employed in explaining interaction from the point of view of a given discipline. An explanation of social interaction calls for the examination of the elements of the social system. It is not implied here that there is in sociology the same universal agreement as to what the elements are as in chemistry, but it is maintained that in the accumulative work of sociologists certain analytic aspects of interaction have been consistently used. From among these aspects those that are considered elements are 1) belief (knowledge); 2) sentiment; 3) end, goal, or objective; 4) norm; 5) status-role (position); 6) rank; 7) power; 8) sanction; and 9) facility. At any given moment in time the structure of a given social system may be described and analyzed in terms of these elements.

If a successful football team at a given moment of play is being examined, the following elements may be perceived:

- 1) *knowledge* among the team members of effective offensive plays and *belief* that their use can defeat their opponents
- 2) *sentiment* of morale and liking and/or respect among the players and coaches
- 3) a degree of commitment to the *end* of winning
- 4) a degree of conformity to the norms or standards of good sportsmanship and to the rules of the game
- 5) mastery of the skills required to operate in the various positions or status-roles
- 6) a ranking of the team and of each individual player
- 7) acceptance of the authority and power of the coach and quarterback
- 8) rewards and penalties which exert a motivating influence
- 9) effective facilities such as shoe cleats and head gear.

These considerations will not be without importance in understanding the outcome of action on the playing field, at least from the sociological point of view.

THE PROCESSES

The elements that stand in a given relation to each other at a given moment do not remain in that relation (except by abstraction) for any length of time. The processes mesh, stabilize, and alter the relations between the elements through time; they are the tools through which the social system may be understood as a dynamic functioning continuity—a “going concern.”⁸ The concept, process, is commonly employed in various of the sciences. A mere listing of such processes as osmosis, metamorphosis, succession, or evolution indicates the diversity of the specialties to which the term is applicable. Regardless of the diversity, each process is characterized by a consistent quality of regular and uniform sequences and is distinguishable by virtue of its orderliness. This same orderliness is the essence of any social process through which transition from one social condition to another is accomplished. For the present purposes the social processes may be classified

under two headings: the specialized elemental processes which articulate the separate elements and the comprehensive or master processes which articulate or involve several or all of the elements. Those of the first category, along with the elements that they respectively articulate are:

- 1) cognitive mapping and validation which articulate the element belief (knowledge)
- 2) tension management and communication of sentiment which articulate the element sentiment
- 3) goal attaining and concomitant "latent" activity as process which articulate the element—end, goal, or objective
- 4) evaluation which articulates the element norm
- 5) status-role performance which articulates the element status-role (position)
- 6) evaluation of actors and allocation of status-roles which articulate the element rank
- 7) decision making and its initiation into action which articulate the element power
- 8) application of sanctions which articulates the element sanction
- 9) utilization of facilities which articulates the element facility.

The structural-functional categories shown in Figure 1 are handy names by which any structural element and its particular functional process (both being ingredients of the structural-functional category) may be designated as a closely connected bundle of phenomena. In the sections of this essay which follow, and in subsequent essays, the specialized processes and the elements that they articulate will be treated together. The comprehensive or master processes each of which activates many or all of the elements will follow. These are communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, social control, socialization, and institutionalization. Both the elemental and comprehensive processes discussed later are those that have been found by many investigators to be of general utility in the analysis of social action and particularly in the development, persistence, and change of social systems.

Figure 1.

ELEMENTS, PROCESSES AND CONDITIONS OF ACTION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
 THE PROCESSUALLY ARTICULATED STRUCTURAL MODEL (PASM) †

| Processes (Elemental) | Structural-functional Categories * | Elements |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Cognitive mapping and validation | Knowing * | Belief (knowledge) |
| **** 2) a) Tension management and b) Communication of sentiment | Feeling | Sentiment |
| *** 3) a) Goal attaining activity and b) Concomitant "latent" activity as process | Achieving | End, goal, or objective |
| 4) Evaluation | Norming, * Standardizing, Pattern-ing | Norm |
| 5) Status-role performance ** | Dividing the functions | Status-role (position) |
| 6) a) Evaluation of actors and b) Allocation of status-roles | Ranking | Rank |
| *** 7) a) Decision making and b) Initiation of action | Controlling | Power |
| 8) Application of sanctions | Sanctioning | Sanction |
| 9) Utilization of facilities | Facilitating | Facility |
| Comprehensive or Master Processes | | |
| 1) Communication | 3) Systemic linkage | 5) Socialization |
| 2) Boundary maintenance | 4) Institutional-ization | 6) Social control |
| Conditions of Social Action | | |
| 1) Territoriality | 2) Size | 3) Time |

† For certain relations between the PAS Model and the terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* see Figure 2, Essay 2. A paper relating the concept, model, to concepts such as those above is available from the author on request.

SOCIAL CHANGE—CONCEPTUALIZATION OF STATIC AND DYNAMIC ASPECTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Sociologists like other scientists have been plagued with substantive and methodological difficulties in the analysis of change.⁹ The analogy of the motion picture film is frequently used as a sort of model to relate structure at one point in time to the structure at a later instant. The structural pattern of status-role relations in the family, for example, may be portrayed in a point of time by a photograph. Change through time may be portrayed by photographs taken in sequence, and run through a projector fast enough to simulate action or process. Whether social units are viewed as "structural-functional equilibria" as in Parsons' sense or as "quasi-stationary equilibrium process" in Kurt Lewin's sense, ". . . social change is the most constant aspect of group existence . . . Social change may start in any part of the system, through changes in the external system [pattern] of the group, alterations in its physical environment, technical organization, or even in its internal system, [pattern] and will, of course, have back effects of a greater or

* These categories have by some writers been called processes. Thus Howard Becker writes that "it would be quite proper always to speak of human activities as essentially 'knowing-desiring-norming.'" Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular-Theory and Its Development," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 140. Elsewhere Becker calls these categories processes. *Ibid.*, p. 165. They are also used as activities, *Ibid.*, pp. 141 and 175. Becker's term, knowing, is equivalent to the above category knowing, his category, desiring, carries part of what is covered by the above terms achieving and feeling; and we are indebted to him for his term "norming" which had been previously called "standardizing and patterning."

** Status-role, alone of the concepts, includes both element and process.

*** The structural-functional categories, achieving and controlling have primacy in the kind of pattern which may be designated as external; to use that term somewhat in the sense attributed to it by George C. Homans and others. Likewise the elements, end and power, and their respective articulating processes, goal attaining activity as process and decision making and its initiation into action have primacy in the external pattern. This in the present author's conceptualization constitutes a more *Gesellschaft*-like aspect of the social system than the internal pattern.

**** The structural-functional category, feeling has primacy in the kind of pattern which may be designated as internal, to use that term somewhat in the sense attributed to it by George C. Homans and others. Likewise the elements, sentiment and its articulating process, the communication of sentiment has primacy in the internal pattern. This in the present author's conceptualization constitutes a more *Gemeinschaft*-like aspect of the social system than the external pattern.

lesser order on all of these.”¹⁰ Both immanent and external factors are important in analyzing organizational change which is paralleled in social systems. Once in existence a social system “cannot help changing, even if all its external conditions are constant.”¹¹

Perhaps the chief difficulty with the structural-functional equilibrium model, as often employed, is that it so focuses attention upon structural relations at a given moment of time that the trends and dynamic aspects of these relations may be ignored. To revert to the analogy of the motion picture, a selective lens may abstract out important structural relations, and the fact that two or more elements in given dimensions tend to appear together may be noted. Since the emphasis is on the structure of cross-sections in an instant of time, however, the directional aspects of the various processes articulating these elements of structure may be ignored. To obviate this difficulty it is important that process or change itself be made the focus of observation. It is clear that the elements and processes noted in Figure 1 emphasize both structure and function through time. By linking the important elements of social structure to the processes crucial for the articulation of the structure through time, it is hoped that some contribution may be made to “our knowledge of structural imperatives . . . and . . . knowledge of many processes of change . . .”¹² It is in an effort to break through some of the difficulties imposed by the static aspects of the equilibrium model in the analysis of social change that this model is presented.¹³

Becker has developed ideal types of society which range “along a continuum leading from maximum reluctance to maximum readiness to change.”¹⁴ Clearly a society or a sociology department as going concerns involved in action can be analyzed by means of the construct, the social system. The construct in application must reflect the achievements, failures and altered goals of the members of the group being analyzed. Its use as an action-involved tool emerges as various of the elements and processes come into greater or less prominence depending upon the nature of the activity. Independent scientists have repeatedly observed that a given collective of individuals interacting within a given social system evinces varying patterns of relations determined by the conditions of the situation and/or the functions of the rela-

tions for the system. One discernible pattern of relations will be referred to as "external"; a correlate pattern will be called "internal."¹⁵

Viewed analytically a pattern of a system which exists as a response to a group's adjustment to its environment and the attainment of its goals is an *external* pattern. This pattern's primary structural-functional categories are 1) *achieving*, with *end*, *goal*, or *objective* as an element and *goal-attaining activity* as process; and 2) *controlling*, with *power* as an element and *decision making and initiation into action* as process. An external pattern of interaction then is marked by adaptation and goal-achievement.

A group through the internal pattern establishes non-adaptive and non-goal-directed relations which focus upon the expression of the system members' sentiments toward one another. The most crucial structural-functional category in this pattern is *feeling* with *sentiment* as an element and *communication of sentiment* as process. The internal and external patterns will be mentioned in the discussion of the elements and processes of social systems but a more comprehensive discussion of these patterns including their differentiation into sub-patterns will be presented at the end of the essay.

ELEMENTS AND ELEMENTAL PROCESSES

KNOWING

Belief (knowledge) as an element. Any proposition about any aspect of the universe that is accepted as true may be called a belief. Although the beliefs held by the members of a social system are seldom purely cognitive and constituted only of knowledge, belief is that aspect of human action considered central to knowing. Whether verifiable or not, some beliefs may, through the process of evaluation, be made sacred or given a quality that evokes such special sentiments as reverence in addition to being considered true. The members of a given social system may be required to embrace certain beliefs. The current concern is the cognitive, not the feeling or normative aspect of belief. Beliefs are formulations of what is thought about the universe, its objects, and its relations. It furnishes the cognitive basis for social action. Obviously, the significance of beliefs for the social scientist

is not determined by the objective truth or falsity of the beliefs. The belief that water boils at a particular temperature under given conditions has compelling evidence behind it, but it may be no more influential in action than the unverifiable belief of the Amish or the Jewish people who maintain that they are a chosen people. The belief that an eclipse of the sun is an ill omen, that tomatoes are poisonous, that capitalistic society will eventually decay and become socialistic, whether true or false, must be taken into account in explaining action.

The testing and validation of the cognitive aspect of belief is likewise important. Those Indian tribes that believed the bow and arrow superior to the repeating rifle either changed their beliefs or suffered the consequences when they faced adversaries armed with rifles. Whether the members of an army or the athletic team believe they can win has been recognized as important throughout the history of sports and warfare alike. Validation is never an automatic process; the prophecy with no foundation in fact may be self-fulfilling because it is believed.¹⁶

Cognitive mapping and validation as process. How articulation of the element belief (knowledge) through cognitive mapping and validation may vary from society to society is illustrated by the following quotation from a well-known anthropologist: "We think by the logic of Aristotle and the geometry of Euclid, but the Australians think by totemism."¹⁷ The processes by which conceptual tools and the fund of knowledge are utilized, developed and changed are called cognitive mapping and validation.

Each society and its subgroups have their own special devices for cognitively mapping and validating belief and experience; but psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists are far from understanding the functioning of constructs and experience in cognitive mapping and in validation of knowledge.¹⁸ It is perhaps the main function of the scientists to doubt and to subject beliefs to the criticism of conceptual and empirical tests. As Mannheim has observed, those with "the new intellectual weapons [used in] the unmasking of the unconscious, had a terrific advantage over their adversaries"¹⁹ because they could illustrate that the beliefs of their adversaries were not held for disinterested reasons. Of course, cognitive mapping and validation of beliefs are related to all the elements and processes. If held generally, the belief that

man can control the universe will influence the articulation of all elements. A belief that violating a norm will result in harm to the violator—whether he be a Navajo Indian who has looked at his mother-in-law or a truck driver who has run a red light—is obviously related to the norms involved. Cognitive mapping and the validation of knowledge and belief varies greatly in the external and internal patterns. Even preliterates with the least developed technology apply rationality in the external pattern as adaptation and goal achievement is carried on. In the internal system many relations that are ends in and of themselves and much of the activity because of its expressive character, inhibits rational cognitive mapping and validation as applied to associates.

FEELING

Sentiment as an element. Closely related to belief and combined with it in the empirical world and yet analytically separate in the social system is the element *sentiment*. Beliefs are primarily cognitive and represent “what we know” about the world no matter how we know it; sentiments are primarily expressive and represent “what we feel” about the world no matter why we feel it. The relations between sentiments and other processes in concrete situations is very complex. The process of evaluation involves both cognition and sentiment. As priorities are established through evaluation, a given object or aspect of the social system will be related to others in the system and imbued with the appropriate sentiments. The norms are important in determining both what sentiment is expressed and how it is to be expressed.

Sentiment is the chief element articulated in the internal pattern of a social system. The sentiments as expressed in the internal pattern result from both externally patterned and internally patterned social interaction, whereas usually the sentiments of the external pattern are those which members have brought to the social system from the outside or which are appropriate for adaptive and goal-directed activity. Although affective neutrality and/or respect for leaders may be more appropriate in the external pattern, affection and love or liking are more common in the internal pattern.

Tension management and communication of sentiment as process. Tension management may be defined as the process

which articulates the elements of the social system in such a manner as to (1) prevent sentiments from obstructing goal-directed activity and (2) avail the system of their motivating force in achieving goals. Most of the elements and processes of social systems have as one of their functions tension management. The restraining influence of tension management as a process becomes obvious to any one who has viewed mob action in which the process is absent and order and system are in abeyance.²⁰ More often than not, however, crises call into play the tension managing processes. The father rushes to the rescue of his child whether the threat is an over-turned tricycle or the surging of flood waters. In both cases, he is acting appropriately as the incumbent of the father status-role, and in both cases his performance of the status-role expectations manages tensions for both himself and the other actor, his child.

Certain mechanisms serve what appear to be the special functions of tension management. Such devices are so numerous that they may be classified variously. Thus preferential mating, privileged familiarity, and avoidance taboos are normative mechanisms that tend to insure that potentially tense situations do not occur, or occur with a minimum of strain.²¹ The avoidance pattern of the Navajo man and his mother-in-law protects the family group from undue strain of interaction between the incumbents of conflicting status-roles, just as private entrances and executive elevators tend to preserve affective neutrality and obviate the potential tensions of mixing affective and affectively neutral relations.²²

Affective neutrality manages tension by ruling out sentiment as in physician-patient and private-sergeant relations. Because such neutrality can scarcely be achieved by the surgeon if the patient is his daughter or by the sergeant if the private is his buddy, norms may decree that certain status-roles not be thrown together in specific situations.²³ Most of the tension management mechanisms apply primarily to the external pattern in which sentiment may prevent adaptive and goal-attaining activity and the function of authority through the line. Among equals, for whom the relations and interactions are ends in themselves and spontaneity and enjoyment the very essence of the pattern, most of the tension management mechanisms of the external pattern have little place.

Communication of sentiment is the process by which members of a social system may, through symbols, be motivated to achieve goals, to conform to the norms, and to carry out systematic action. One of the most common devices for communicating sentiment is the ritual.²⁴ The importance of tension management and the communication of sentiment for integration, for cooperation and solidarity, and for commitment to group ends and willingness to sacrifice for them can scarcely be overestimated.

The difference between the communication of sentiment in the external and in the internal interaction patterns is great. Affective neutrality is commonly the ideal of the bureaucratic or rational work organization; up and down the authority line relations tend to be externally patterned. In the internal pattern the chief reason for interacting is to communicate liking, friendship, and love among those who stand in supporting relations to one another and corresponding negative sentiments to those who stand in antagonistic relations.

ACHIEVING

End, goal, or objective as element. The end, goal, or objective is the change (or in some cases the retention of the *status quo*) that members of a social system expect to accomplish through appropriate interaction. Ends are always related to the activities of which they are a function,²⁵ but difficulties arise when the subjective predispositions (motives and purposes) are confused with objective consequences (functions or disfunctions).²⁶ Externally patterned interaction exists almost solely for achieving instrumental goals and adapting to the environment; the ends are situationally specified. In internally patterned interaction the relations are ends in themselves. In this respect as in many others, the external pattern is *Gesellschaft*-like; the internal pattern is *Gemeinschaft*-like.

Goal attaining and concomitant "latent" activity as process. The manner in which the end of a given act functions in relation to the other elements may be used as a guide for classifying action. When the ends are functionally specific and sharply differentiated from the other elements, particularly the norms and facilities, and when the norms of efficiency have priority, the action and the pertinent ends may be called instrumental and *Gesellschaft*-like.

For instance, logistics in military science require that the ends and facilities be sharply differentiated and that the norms of rationality be applied. Action guided by the norms of logistics is always instrumental and leads to activities which in process are *Gesellschaft*-like. In such action, the external pattern is given priority.

In religious rituals it is usually impossible to separate the end from many of the other elements. Thus, in the case of ritual or protocol, the norms may become ends. In such action, the activity functions to strengthen norms and other elements of the system and may be called moral, or integrative, or *Gemeinschaft*-like. Activity which is in itself an end, such as recreational and creative activity, may be called expressive and *Gemeinschaft*-like.²⁷

In instrumental and *Gesellschaft*-like activity identical ends may be perceived by both the actors of a system and an observer who objectively views the activity. However, an objective observer may note that the actors' conception of the end of a given act may be different than the functions of the activity for the system. Activities may have functions for the system which are unintended and/or unrecognized by the actors. Such activities are here called "latent." Although the actors in a primitive dance may be trying to produce rain, the observer may note that the dance only increases solidarity and integration. Calvinists, Methodists, and Pietists did not hold money-making as the important end or objective. Salvation and eternal life were the most important goals; however, the quest for salvation, according to the norms of their social systems led to thrift, hard work, and dedication to the job or office. Whether an activity is explained in terms of manifest ends or latent functions, these goal-attaining activities represent process. They also demonstrate the importance of an evaluation of goals and an understanding of process.²⁸

NORMING, STANDARDIZING, OR PATTERNING

Norm as an element. Those who consider social systems to be normative orders of relations and interaction find the norm or guiding standard involved in a given relation or activity the most strategic element in the understanding and prediction of action.²⁹ Norms influence the range of goal choices and govern the selection and application of facilities in the attainment of ends and goals. They are the basic element patterning such activity as

knowing, feeling, dividing functions and allocating status-roles, controlling, ranking, and sanctioning. Norms are the "rules of the game." As used here, norms are more inclusive than written rules, regulations, and laws; they refer to all criteria for judging the character or conduct of both individual and group actions in any social system. They constitute the standards determining what is right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate, just and unjust, good and bad in social relationships. Some norms are general in nature and may not be violated by anyone; others apply only to particular actors and status-roles within the system and norms likewise vary in the extent to which actors deviate from them. Particular norms may be especially crucial for special social systems. The norms of "validity," "reliability," and "objectivity" may be paramount in the scientific system. The norm of "efficiency" may be of great importance in the productive system, and the norm of "fair play" and "good sportsmanship" may be of importance in athletic activity. The concept of "system" implies order. Hence, a major criterion for delineating a social system is simply the existence of consensus with respect to the appropriate ways of behaving and doing things.

The characteristic norms of the external pattern are quite different from those common to the internal pattern. Technical norms of efficiency and such economic formulae as the highest profit combination are characteristic of the external pattern and are correspondingly *Gesellschaft*-like. The norms of taste and moral norms are more characteristic of the internal pattern and are correspondingly *Gemeinschaft*-like. Such norms may stress particularistic activities, the diffuseness of obligations and rights, and require affectivity in relations. On the other hand, the external pattern may require universalistic principles, functionally specific norms, and either affective neutrality or attitudes held to be appropriate for those of different hierarchical positions. Whether primarily externally or internally patterned any social system is by definition "a normative order."

Evaluation as a process. "How do the norms apply to the application of norms themselves?" Homans suggests that they arise in time out of interaction or are evaluated in interaction.³⁰ As employed in the present writing, norms are established in a hierarchy and become the chief means of evaluating behavior and

interaction in relation to the elements. The elements are also placed in hierarchical positions by the process of evaluation and this includes the element, norm, itself. Evaluation is the process through which varying positive and negative priorities or values are assigned to elements, processes, other concepts, ideas, objects, actors, collectives or events, and activities either past, present, or future.³¹ It is the primary process through which the norms are articulated throughout the system. The members of a social system may evaluate a given element so highly that in interaction that element is sanctified and the sentiment of reverence accorded it. The members of another social system may evaluate it as ordinary, unimportant, or as a negative element. A supernatural being may be sanctified and accorded a positive value; another, such as a devil, may be sanctified but accorded a negative value. One society may evaluate achieving and production highly; another may value controlling and governing much more; and another society may consider the standardizing and patterning important and place great emphasis on the evaluation process in terms of integration and solidarity. "Given the process of evaluation, the probability is that it will serve to differentiate entities in a rank order of some kind."³² Evaluation as a process involves both cognition and feeling (belief and sentiment) carried on in accordance with the norms of the system involved.³³

Value as a concept and its place in the monograph. It is important to emphasize here that the phenomena represented by the term "value" as it is commonly used in designating preference or that which is preferred is by no means neglected in the present monograph. It is true that as an analytical tool its embracive, permeating and global attributes may render it considerably less precise than is desirable for a concept in an analytical schema designed to single out components of interaction. Nevertheless, all the processes and processually articulated elements as presented in Figure 1 are under certain circumstances of action value-laden. Evaluation as a process, for example, is crucial in the creation and maintenance of values. Communication of sentiment as a process likewise plays an important part in creating and maintaining values. Indeed, the encompassing nature of value as a phenomenon may perhaps best be demonstrated through the utilization of the Processually Articulated Structural Model as

summarized in Figure 1 in the analysis of a given social act. The purpose of the present monograph is to provide a conceptual scheme by which social action can be analyzed in such a manner that the concomitant values and their components will be revealed whether these values be focused in the ends, norms, beliefs, facilities or other elements or combination of elements. For example, an action may be suffused with the value of achievement (or reciprocity, or honesty, or liberty, or a host of others); both the action and its value orientation will, it is hoped, submit to understanding and prediction through systemic analysis in terms of the elements and processes.

DIVIDING THE FUNCTIONS

Status-role incorporating both element and process. The status-role combines element and process or structure and function. Status or position represents the element; and role represents the process. The participation of actors in social systems revolves around two reciprocal expectancies inherent in interaction.³⁴ Each participating actor is an object of orientation and, insofar as the significance of this object derives from the actor's position in the social relation, it has a status significance. Each actor is also oriented toward other actors and, in this capacity, is a subject rather than an object. He is thus acting a role with reference to others. The two-term unit, status-role, therefore contains in the concept a structural element (status) and a functional process (role). Status-role is that which is expected from an actor in a given situation.³⁵ Use of the combination "status-role" in preference to "role" makes it possible to eliminate from consideration such psychological concepts of role as "aggressor" role, "glamour girl" role, and "altruistic" role, which do not necessarily require membership participation in a specific social system.

The status-role differentiation in the external pattern of social systems varies with the stage of development of the society and many other factors related to this development. In highly industrialized societies the proliferation of status-roles in the technological, economic, and political spheres is immense. In underdeveloped societies the proliferation of status-roles in the external patterns may be much less extensive, but it is always greater than the differentiation of status-roles in the internal patterns. The

status-roles of the external patterns enumerated by official censuses in the industrialized countries run into the thousands. Those in the internal patterns do not find their way into such official publications, but their number probably does not increase greatly as societies industrialize and change.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element. Power as the term is used here, refers to the capacity to control others.³⁶ It has many components which are here classified as authoritative and non-authoritative control. Authority is the right, as determined by the members of the system, to control others. Established authority always resides in a status-role, not in the individual as such. "Authority of office," indicates that it results from the incumbency of a status-role. Thus the authority of the father, priest, president, coach, policeman, or bank examiner resides in the particular office. Such authority cannot be taken with the incumbent when he no longer holds the office. An unfrocked priest cannot deliver the sacraments, a deposed coach cannot direct game strategy, nor can an ex-president convene Congress. Authority, therefore, always implies some degree of institutionalization, the standardization of expectancies with regard to rights and responsibilities of an occupant of a status-role.

Other status-role differentiations, while not aimed primarily at ranking or power-wielding differentiations, nonetheless embody a power component in mutually contingent role expectations. The creditor has the right to receive and the debtor the responsibility to pay interest; the parent has the right to direct, the child the responsibility to obey; the physician the right to give "doctor's orders," the patient the responsibility to comply.

Non-authoritative power is variously categorized by social scientists. Although difficult to differentiate there are two important types: unlegitimized coercion and voluntary influence.³⁷ Both may be exerted by single actors as well as by the collectivities of members of social systems. *Unlegitimized coercion* implies either physical or mental control or both. It is involved when one actor originates action and another actor responds or obeys unwillingly. Unlegitimized coercion may be illustrated by a robbery at gun-point, by the seizure of authoritative office with armed

force, by rape, and other forms of duress and coercion. In addition to its not being legitimate the essential feature of unlegitimized coercion is the one-way nature of the interaction, the initiator or superordinate giving orders or forcing the subordinate without the respondent's consent.

Voluntary influence may be regarded as control over others which is not built into the authority component of the status-role but results from the willingness of the subordinate to become involved by the superordinate. The capacity to influence may reside in the individual actor and his facilities, but it does not reside in the status-role. Influence may be based upon such factors as skill in manipulating people, social capital resting upon past favors, superior knowledge of the social system, wealth or reputation, or certain outstanding qualities. A "popular leader" may wield enormous influence despite a lack of office; a mother in a patriarchal family, where authority nominally resides with the father, may actually control the family by virtue of a strong personality; a politician may hold the office but a power behind the throne may pull the strings and actually control the office. Thus influence is manifested in many ways and is essentially non-authoritarian in the sociological if not the psychological sense of the term.

In general, authority in the externally patterned social systems is hierarchical. Parsons presents two reasons for this.

... The exigencies of the external situation to which a system is exposed weigh so heavily that elements differentiated with reference to the effective management of these exigencies tend to have extra weight. . . . Second . . . since . . . the lower order system is in certain respects "controlled" by the higher order system, the elements which are in closest touch with the sources of control tend to be placed higher in a scale of what in some sense is superiority, power, prestige, and the like.³⁸

It is the authority component of the external pattern which is principally responsible for the difference between the sentiments appropriate in it and in the internal pattern. Affective neutrality or respect and distance are typically appropriate sentiments for subordinates to superordinates. Not infrequently in some internal patterns a common bond is opposition to the authority figures in the external pattern.³⁹

Decision-making and its initiation into action as process. Decision-making and its initiation into action may be described as processes whereby alternate courses of available action are reduced so there may be some action within the system. The authoritative aspect of status-role is so built-in to relations that the object or subordinate has the obligation to accept and carry out decisions as directed and the subject or superordinate has the right to expect this. Generally the dean of a university, as a decision-maker, has the right to assume a department head in his college will carry out certain of the dean's decisions and directives; the department head has the obligation to do so regardless of his own desire in the matter. In social systems in which all members participate in the decision-making process and in other highly institutionalized social systems, decision-making presupposes that a consensus has been reached concerning the ultimate ends. The evaluative process is oriented toward the past and the present, decision-making and its initiation into action are oriented toward the future.

Decision making and its initiation into action are regulated by norms just as are other processes; in each social system there will be accepted ways to make decisions and to put them into action. In some social systems such as armies or large factories, a comparatively few status-roles are vested with a great amount of power. The commander-in-chief of the army, or the president of a large manufacturing corporation, each with his group of advisors, has relatively much more power than do incumbents of status-roles that initiate action in more power-diffuse social systems. The status-roles which control the power in the power-centered systems, also control most of the important decision-making for that system.

Power is also coupled with decision-making and action in social systems where power is spread more evenly among its members. When members of a social system freely participate in decision-making and the power is more or less evenly balanced, compromise often is a characteristic of the process. Even in power-diffuse social systems, however, power is not distributed absolutely equally. The incumbents of power-balanced status-roles or members of power-balanced sub-systems marshall as many adherents as possible, thereby attempting to upset the bal-

ance. If power remains evenly balanced, decision by coalition or by compromise may fail; the failure of the process to function may mean that the alternatives are not reduced and no course of action is determined. If no legitimate means of articulating power is available to break a deadlock and action is considered necessary, non-legitimate action may result.

Both power-centered and power-diffuse social systems may be either Gemeinschaft-like or Gesellschaft-like.⁴⁰ In Gemeinschaft-like social systems those relations which are ends in themselves whether among actors equally- or unequally-powered have primacy. In Gesellschaft-like social systems those relations which are means to ends regardless of their power component have primacy. It may, however, be noted in either Gesellschaft-like or Gemeinschaft-like social systems and likewise in power-centered and power-diffuse social systems that decision-making and its initiation into action as processes are characteristic of the external pattern.

RANKING

Rank as an element. Rank as used here is equivalent to "standing" and always has reference to a specific actor, system, or subsystem. The expression "He pulled his rank," as used in the army stresses power more than rank as used here. Rank or standing includes the importance an actor has for the system in which the rank is accorded; authority is only one of the several components upon which rank is based.

The object of rank must be specified; that is, the specific status-role, city manager or deacon; or more general status-role, actor or member. Likewise the system which accords the rank must be specified. Thus, a professor has a social rank or standing among his colleagues in a university which includes the following items:

- 1) Prestige derived from non-active or positional aspects of his status-roles in the system being considered. Thus he may be an associate professor (a rank built into the status-role which is central to the consideration here), adult, male, member of the tenure committee, etc. 2) Esteem which results from the level of his performance in the active aspects of the pertinent status-role; 3) Prestige and esteem from status-roles in social systems not coterminous with the social system which is the chief referent or focus here, namely, the university, insofar as

these influence his rank in the university; and 4) Power, both authority and influence.⁴¹

This actor's rank in a given university may depend, to use Merton's terms, upon the evaluation of both his role-set and his status-set.⁴² Thus the role-set or "complement of role relationships" existing by "virtue of occupying a particular social status" (status-role in the present author's usage) in the case of a college professor would involve students, colleagues, superordinates, and others in the university system. The status-set insofar as pertinent for ranking in the university involves the status-roles of an actor which for the college professor might be father, brother, Democrat, and many others. Each of these may be evaluated positively, neutrally, or negatively by members of the system and consequently contribute to the actor's rank within the university system. Within another system of which the university professor is also a member, e.g. the community, his rank is further affected by the ranking assigned by the whole community to the university and to the other social systems in which the professor has rank. Other things being equal, the professor's rank will be favorably affected by membership in social systems which, among other social systems, have been accorded a high rank and, of course the converse of this situation will also be true.

In any social system where it is possible to have a plurality of persons with similar *standing*, the step to class, caste, or estate forms of stratification is easily taken. Sorokin writes: "Unstratified society, with a real equality of its members, is a myth which has never been realized in the history of mankind."⁴³ Whether designated as class, caste, estate, or another form, a way of categorizing *aggregates* of people within the system is provided. By virtue of their being in categories of the same rank people tend to have access to similar and limited sets of status-roles, power, and facilities, and hence over time tend to develop similar *life-styles*, *appropriate symbols*,⁴⁴ and some measure of *social closure* and *solidarity*. Castes, classes, and estates, regardless of their important differences, refer to pluralities of people holding common rank. This rank at one time or another was the product of the evaluation process. An important and recent social science finding is the significance of the relation of ranks held in the external and in-

ternal patterns of social systems. The convergence of an individual's rank in the internal and in the external patterns, or the absence of it, is found to be related to both his job satisfaction and his social performance. One study reveals that as convergence increases technical performance or efficiency "after a light rise, decreases."⁴⁵ It has been suggested that social leaders and not task leaders emerge as there is a convergence of rank in the internal and external patterns; when there is a lack of rank convergence, task leaders tend to emerge.⁴⁶

Evaluation as a process in ranking and allocation of status-roles. The standing or rank of an actor in a given social system is determined by the evaluation placed upon the actor and his acts in accordance with the norms and standards of the system. As Parsons⁴⁷ has observed, evalution in ranking is determined in large measure by the "paramount value system of society." Thus for a society such as the United States which evaluates highly the economy with its productive and other enterprises of the external and instrumental patterns, those status-roles responsible for carrying out the most important functions in these enterprises will, other things being equal, receive the highest ranking.

As the concept of rank is used here, the process of evaluation and the resultant rank must always refer to a given system and actor. The manner in which a professional baseball club determines the value of a player is not unlike the way individuals are ranked in society. The importance of the game in the society relates the baseball system to other comparable systems and determines the prestige and facilities available. The value of the player to the particular team in winnings and gate receipts will not be unrelated to his rank in the team, and among players generally. In other words, each sub-system is ranked and any one actor's rank is a complex of his own place in the sub-system plus the standing of the sub-system in the total society.

Ranking in the internal pattern is more dependent upon particularistic considerations than is general in the external pattern, where ranking is more dependent upon universalistic considerations—especially technical competence or skill. These are, however, only relative comparisons since rank in both the internal and external patterns varies on many dimensions from society to society and from social system to social system.

In most peasant, *Gemeinschaft*-like societies a large proportion of status-role occupancies are determined at birth by attributes such as sex or caste, which are biologically or socially immutable. Although some ascription prevails in the *Gesellschaft*-like society there is a greater emphasis upon incumbency by achievement. "Allocation of status-role" refers to the process or processes whereby incumbents come to occupy particular status-roles. Included in the concept are both the testing for the required components and the processes through which such components are developed.

SANCTIONING

Sanction as an element. The term sanction refers to the rewards and penalties meted out by the members of a social system as a device for inducing conformity to its norms and ends. Sanctions, hence, can be either positive or negative and are manifest in the potential satisfaction-giving or depriving mechanism at the disposal of the members. Positive sanctions or *rewards* include wages for labor rendered, rent for land used, interest for money borrowed, profit for enterprise engaged in, prestige from positional aspects of status-roles, esteem from the active aspects of status-roles, privileges from prestige and esteem. Negative sanctions or *penalties* are the deprivations of such items at the disposal of the members of the social systems.⁴⁸

Application of sanctions as a process. As Malinowski observed and Merton emphasized, violation of the norms may not result in the application of sanctions unless there is "public announcement and demonstration of the deviation."⁴⁹ Malinowski reported that for some time a Trobriand Islander violated an incest taboo with no apparent censure by the community. When the violated actor in the situation made a public proclamation, however, the violator took his own life. Similarly, at the turn of the century a public report of the below-standard performance of some medical schools provoked the application of sanctions. According to Merton, the dramatically publicized account brought "into public eye the extreme departures from generally acknowledged standards of medical education which obtained in the medical schools of the time, thus creating tensions between 'the privately tolerated' and the 'publicly acknowledgeable.'"⁵⁰

Once a deviation from the norms is public, a society will use any of various devices for evaluation of the seriousness of the offense. "Boards of inquiry, fact-finding boards, parole boards, condemnation commissions, tax appeal boards, courts of law and various other agencies are established to ascertain intentions, goals, and the nature of violation and apply sanctions."⁵¹ Such bodies may have norms called "procedural rules so constructed that random or biased imputations of meanings to a person or group are reduced to a minimum."⁵² When such systems become bureaucratized and institutionalized so that norms, often called "procedural laws govern the selection of counsel and witnesses, and defining of issues, the presentation of arguments and contentions, the valuation of evidence, the establishment of proof, and the pronouncement of decrees" Gesellschaft-like processes are available for assignment of sanctions. At the other extreme are community uprisings and lynching parties which deal out punishment to allegedly guilty parties without "due process of law" and usually in violation of it.

FACILITATING

Facility as an element. A facility may be defined as a means used to attain ends within the system. The more specific the ends of a system are and the higher the evaluation placed upon efficiency in their attainment, the more easily can the facilities be separated from the other elements of the social system and the more Gesellschaft-like the action will be. As employed here facility is a residual category and should not absorb status-role or other elements except in very special circumstances. Facility is introduced as a category because of its great importance in the analysis of economic and social development. The analytical category achieving, with the focus upon the end rather than the facility or means, may suffice for most sociological analysis. In some cases, however, centering attention upon facilities and employing economic and other analytic procedures may be important. In an analysis of such Gesellschaft-like processes as capital accumulation or Gemeinschaft-like processes through which certain facilities come to be regarded as sacred, the investigator may need to focus attention upon facility. Possessions which are means to be used for further goals are facilities; they are rights of use, control,

or disposal of objects. Land used as a means of production is a possession and a facility; however, land or other geographical objects which, through religious sanctification, are hallowed take on a special aspect and as facilities are not compatible with rational action in the attainment of specific goals. Time and space are facilities when they are controlled in obtaining objectives of a collectivity and when their utilization is determined by group norms.

Utilization of facilities as process. The mere existence or possession of facilities reveals much less about the organization as a going concern than does an examination of how the facilities are utilized. Examining the utilization of facilities provides another window so to speak through which the systemic ends, beliefs and knowledge, norms and other elements, and their articulating processes may be observed. Focusing upon the intrinsic nature of facilities rather than upon the function of the facility in social action has, however, led to serious confusion in the interpretation of facilities. Thus the classification of culture into the *non-material* in contrast to the *material* by Ogburn⁵³ and others; and the classification of human activity into *culture* and *civilization* by Mac-Iver⁵⁴ and Weber⁵⁵ appealing as these classifications are, lead to confusion unless the focus is upon the relation of the facility to its utilization, not upon the items as facilities *per se*. Consider, for example, the distinction between the artifacts of *civilization*—including typewriters, steam shovels, and the like—which are considered to be instrumental factors and which are cumulative and easily transferable—and those of *culture*—including poems, drama, games, philosophies and the like which are considered to be expressive or integrative factors and which are non-cumulative and difficult to diffuse among systems. Such a distinction has meaning only when the attention is focused upon group utilization. That the Chinese, who possessed gun powder years before its introduction to the western world, used it solely as an expressive facility valued for its flash or noise-making properties on festive occasions may reveal a great deal about the evaluative judgments of that society. The utilization of the same item in the West—in warfare, blasting, and hunting—may likewise, if studied as a process of goal achievement, reveal much about the system whose members use it thus.

When facilities are so viewed and society is considered the referent system, the categories, *culture* and *civilization*, lead directly to the categories *internal* vs. *external* as used by Homans⁵⁶ and Parsons⁵⁷ and *expressive* and *instrumental* as used by Parsons (and the latter's more recent dichotomization, *consummatory* and *instrumental* action).

Since facilities are, by definition, means to ends their utilization highlights systemic ends, beliefs, and norms that might otherwise remain obscure. The converse of this is equally true: a society reveals its ends, beliefs, and norms by its failure to utilize certain available facilities. This is demonstrated by the Amish (Essay 5) who have taboos against many facilities that Weber and MacIver would classify as civilization. The function of facilities as non-industrialized Gemeinschaft-like systems become industrialized and increasingly Gesellschaft-like also illustrates the point (Essay 2).

The sociologist's interest focuses upon the members' utilization of facilities and the changes in the system as the facilities and technology change. At some points in the Andean highlands one can walk from communities of peasants using the most primitive facilities onto huge experimental tractor demonstration farms. The peasants' survival depends upon how much barley and how many potatoes may be grown and stored by family and community work teams using no more complicated technology than the foot plow. On the experimental tractor farms there are facilities—including huge tractors, plows, drills, and harvesters—which if applied to the peasants' plots could plow, plant, and harvest all their land with only a small portion of the time and human energy required at present; but the use of the modern equipment would require a complete reorganization of the social systems of the peasants. Even after enough local people have learned to operate the new equipment, resistance to its adoption is tremendous. The resistance seen in systemic terms is less an opposition to the facilities than it is an expression of boundary maintenance of existing systems and anxieties about how each actor would fit into a scheme necessary to articulate these mammoth facilities. It is the hypothesis of the author that this resistance would be offered whether the facilities were to be privately owned or socialized.

Social systems vary greatly in terms of the types and amounts

of facilities owned by their members. A comparison of the utilization of facilities is difficult because it must take into account their relative prevalence and distribution, the availability of substitutes, and many other considerations. One facility that approaches being absolute in quantity, and thus amenable to absolute comparisons, is time. Each member of each social system is rigidly limited to twenty-four hours in his day. Social systems in which a great amount of time is spent for expressive and summatory purposes, other things being equal, are *Gemeinschaft*-like. Societies that use increasingly great amounts of time for adaptive enterprises, again with other things being equal, are increasingly *Gesellschaft*-like.

When time is used as a facility it may indicate rank and may be designated as "system-time." In groups exhibiting cooperative action in which only one member may act at a time, as in discussion or conversation, those members who use the most time usually have the highest rank.⁵⁸ Often rank is revealed by the sequence of action—either the inferior must speak first or be spoken to first. Usually the power wielder initiates action to the actor of lesser power.

To the extent that space is controlled and used as a facility, it is "system-space." The spacing of actors on ceremonial occasions or on work teams so as to designate rank may be taken as one illustration of "system-space." Space may likewise be utilized to facilitate systemic linkage.

Regardless of the intrinsic nature of the facility, it is its use, not its intrinsic qualities, which determines its significance to social systems. Whether a given object is used as an altar and considered sacred or as an auctioneer's bench and considered secular, will in large part be determined by its evaluation and the communication of sentiment through utilization (Essay 4).

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication. Communication is the process by which information, decisions, and directives are transmitted among actors and the ways in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified by interaction.⁵⁹ It is communication which most sharply distinguishes human beings from other animals. Man's communication media have enabled him to transcend time

and thus accumulate a history and to conquer space and thus permit the pooling of a vast range of experience. These accomplishments have fostered the establishment, maintenance, and change of collectivities of great complexity. Unquestionably the incredible network of social systems ranging from the two-person collectivity to the political state numbering in the millions is dependent upon the persistence of communication; without it the life-line of interaction would be lost and the systems would quickly collapse.⁶⁰

Especially in urban western societies today, there are the mass media—radio, television, motion pictures, and the press—in which the agency receiving the communication cannot interact directly with the agency imparting the information. Informal channels of communication usually provide the opportunities for two-way interaction, in which individuals are both imparters and receivers of information. Understanding the dynamics of any given social system obviously calls for a knowledge of the communication media, channels, and barriers within the system. Communication is a primary process basic to the articulation of each of the elements of a social system and to the unity of the whole.

Boundary maintenance. This is the process whereby the identity of the social system is preserved and the characteristic interaction pattern maintained. The probability of applied boundary maintenance mechanisms increases with the level of solidarity of the social system and with the threat of encroachment.⁶¹ Members of a social system tend to respond to internal or external threats by an increased evaluation of the process of boundary maintenance and of the activities devoted to it. Its heightened evaluation is accompanied by a heightened evaluation placed on one or more of the elements in the PAS Model and lowered evaluation on others. Increased boundary maintenance may be achieved, for example, by assigning a higher primacy or evaluation to the activities characteristic of the external pattern, such as the pursuit of a broadened economic goal, in which case the elements ends, power and rank may be expected to increase in primacy. As ambiguities attached to ends are removed, as the identities and responsibilities of power figures are clarified, and as ranks consonant with the total operation are established, integration and solidarity are heightened. They may be further heightened by activity characteristic of the internal pattern. Affective

activity including ritualistic expression, which reaffirms common norms, sentiments and beliefs intensifies solidarity, and is boundary maintaining to the degree that it facilitates system identification and sustains the interaction pattern. Boundary maintaining activity characteristic of both the external and internal patterns, such as waging a war, may be expected to be accompanied by a shift in the relative values of the articulated elements as well as a restructuring of the primacy of the items comprising the elements, such as the submergence of previously held goals, the de-emphasis of previously held sentiments, and so on. Boundary maintenance, like the other comprehensive processes, is thus analytically separate from the elements and their articulating processes, but its actual functioning is always expressed in terms of the processually articulated elements.

The various categories into which boundary maintenance devices fall suggest their wide array. They may be primarily physical, as political boundaries, prison walls, zoning restrictions, or prescribed use or non-use of facilities; or they may be primarily social, as are the life styles of social classes or the preference for endogamy. They may be spontaneously or unconsciously applied, as in the family display of company manners; or they may be planned and rationally applied, as in the travel restrictions imposed extensively by totalitarian states and less extensively by democratic societies. They may be expressed in group contraction as in the casting out of deviants; or they may be reflected in group expansion, as in the uniting of parallel labor unions, as similar groups find boundary maintenance facilitated by joint effort. The latter classification obviously has significance for the process of systemic linkage which in many respects is a corollary of boundary maintenance.

Systemic linkage. Systemic linkage may be defined as the process whereby one or more of the elements of at least two social systems is articulated in such a manner that the two systems in some ways and on some occasions may be viewed as a single unit.⁶² The convergence of ends is common in systemic linkage, but norms, sentiments, status-roles and other elements may be involved. Whereas the process of boundary maintenance refers to the limits set upon intergroup contact the process of systemic linkage refers to the organizational arrangements for group interde-

pendencies. Without boundary maintenance, social groups would be indistinguishable among a mass of individuals and interaction would be haphazard; without systemic linkage an unthinkable parochialism would deny to groups any form of contact outside their own boundaries. While neither extreme actually exists, *Gesellschaft*-like groups tend to place a higher evaluation on systemic linkage and a relatively lower evaluation on boundary maintenance than do *Gemeinschaft*-like groups.

However, even closed groups with high levels of boundary maintenance are sometimes exposed to some outside contacts, such as those involved in the filling of needs for goods and services. To achieve systemic linkage at the same time that boundaries are maintained, the contacts may be made the responsibility of various institutionalized liaison status-roles in which the incumbents act as living links between the groups engaged in the exchange. If the groups involved in the exchange are conceptualized as social systems and the interaction conceptualized by means of the processually articulated elements, the two systems are revealed as being united on some occasions by convergence of ends, the attaining of which is mediated by status-role. Two families similarly conceptualized as separate social systems are linked by convergences particularly of status-roles and also of sentiments and ends by symbolic relations according to the institutionalized pattern of marriage.

Whole organizations sometimes have the sole function of systemic linkage. National boundary commissions, boards of international trade, water resource commissions and interstate port authorities, for example, may be conceptualized as social systems, the ends of which are effective linkage in specified activities between two or more political states. As the political states are similarly conceptualized as social systems, convergence of some aspects of knowledge, ends, facilities, power, sanctions and the appropriate articulating processes may be observed, mediated by dual-natured status-roles the expectancies of which originate in the linking social system as well as in those so linked.

There are many types and forms of systemic linkage especially in directed change. For example, when a family borrows money from a bank or a governmental agency, systemic linkage is established between the two units and the symbolic relation of

debtor and creditor expresses this linkage. To understand a social system it is always necessary to know how it is linked to other systems and to any larger system of which it may be a part. To understand social change it is necessary to understand how agents of change link themselves to the target systems which are changed.⁶³ Political scientists who are interested in social action through pressure or interest groups use the term "access" in much the same sense as the concept systemic linkage is employed here.⁶⁴ The term systemic linkage has the advantage over the political scientists' "access" and the cultural anthropologists' "acculturation" of indicating, or allowing for the indication of, the specific elements and elemental processes involved.

Donald Young has outlined the systemic linkage of the sociological profession with such practicing professions as those involved in health, social work, and law. Sociologists who "intern" with the practicing professionals in these fields and others such as agriculture link the various sociological systems to the systems of practicing professionals. That sociologists who become such "living links" need not lose their identity as sociologists but can also derive satisfaction from the relationship if appropriate status-roles are institutionalized to promote systemic linkage is adequately demonstrated.⁶⁵

The two processes, boundary maintenance and systemic linkage, especially as applied to sub-systems, parallel one of Merton's group properties, "potential of fission or unity of a group."⁶⁶ Collectivities may splinter, as have various political and religious groups; but such splintering may result in more uniformity in beliefs, ends, and norms within groups. On the other hand, it is possible for sub-groups to form larger units through *systemic linkage*. Which of these two apparently opposing processes will gain priority and under what conditions is not generally known.

Socialization. Socialization is the process through which the social and cultural heritage is transmitted.⁶⁷ Through socialization each newborn baby learns the skills, beliefs, ends, and norms of the society into which he is born; he internalizes the interaction and expectancy patterns which make status-roles and the elements of power and rank operative in society. The interaction involved in the process of socialization results in the formation of the personality. As Merton writes, socialization "involves the

acquisition of attitudes and values, of skills and behavior patterns making up social roles established in the social structure. . . . The process continues, at varying rates, throughout the life cycle.”⁶⁸ In his discussion of the socialization of the student physician the importance of “teaching of physician-patient relationships by faculty members who serve as role models for students” is stressed.⁶⁹ Parsons introduces into his discussion of socialization the concept of “socializee,” as a status-role. The socializee is socialized in interaction of a “double contingency” or a “complementary” nature with parents, teachers, bosses, colleagues, and others throughout life. Through taking the role of the other in the sense used by Mead, the socializee as son or daughter, while interacting with the parent, internalizes the status-role of parent. In a similar manner he is socialized into potential incumbency of the other status-roles of society. It has been suggested that socialization for the incumbency of status-roles in a bureaucracy with its *Gesellschaft*-like affective neutrality can only be accomplished after status-roles, characterized by affectivity, such as those of son or daughter, have been internalized.⁷⁰ The communication of sentiment enables the socializee in given status-roles to manifest appropriate feelings toward object status-roles such as those held by members of various ethnic, class, kin, and other systems. The various status-roles important to systemic-linkage are internalized from both the position of subject and object through socialization.

Merton has found the concept “anticipatory socialization” useful in analyzing the manner in which reference groups and individuals may be functional in preparing for changes in membership groups. Howard Becker has found a kind of retrospective socialization important. In this form “a host of departed worthies, ‘actively’ participate in socialization.” Insofar as “departed ancestors . . . are . . . extolled, a very great deal of the past may remain to work on the present.”⁷¹

Social Control. Social control is the process by which deviancy is either eliminated or somehow made compatible with the functioning of the social groups.⁷² Of the elements and processes which have been discussed those most closely related to social control are norms, power, and sanctions.⁷³ Other processes institutionalize it by establishing certain status-roles in which deviancy is permitted at least for a time.⁷⁴ Such a status-role is that of the

sick person. Psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and doctors through the supportive action of friends and relatives employ many mechanisms to restore the deviant to "normalcy." Parsons has observed the importance of establishing support which, at a later stage, may be used as a lever for the manipulation of rewards and the "denial of reciprocity" in breaking a "vicious circle" in the development of deviancy. A similar process of "involvement" is frequently used by agents of change. The change agent may develop a strategy whereby he establishes confidence in himself and extends his influence. This degree of dependency upon him may later be used as a sort of lever to urge change upon the object.

Institutionalization. Institutionalization is the process through which organizations are given structure and social action and interaction are made predictable. It is a global master process which patterns knowing, feeling, achieving, evaluating, ranking, controlling, and sanctioning through the elements and their articulating processes as well as the master processes. It may involve all the other elements and processes. Of particular importance in institutionalization are the elements, norms, and sentiments, and their respective articulating processes—evaluation and the communication of sentiment. A given mechanism such as the state medical board examinations for physicians may be said to be institutionalized when there is conformity to the procedures and when deviancy results in moral indignation. When the pertinent society or public has legitimized the mechanism or procedures as rightful it has been institutionalized. The processes of evaluation and communication of sentiment are obviously crucial in legitimization.

"Institutionalization is a matter of degree, not of absolute presence or absence."⁷⁵ Durkheim noted conditions of institutionalization in which individual personalities were so completely integrated and absorbed into certain social systems that if certain norms were not met those responsible for the failure were expected to and actually did take their own lives, a type of suicide called altruistic. This held, for example, for officers in the Prussian Army. At the other extreme a condition called *anomie* or "under-institutionalization" can exist in which persons are provided with no effective norms to guide them, no meaningful status-roles, no sanctions, and other elements to standardize behavior. In a con-

dition of *anomie* suicide rates are characteristically high, since the individual has little by way of goals to live for or norms to live by.⁷⁶ These might be called "over-institutionalization" and "under-institutionalization"; the results of the process of institutionalization usually fall between these two extremes.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

The elements and processes constitute the working components, the parts and articulating functions, of the social system. Not all aspects of social systems are encompassed in these concepts but the components as presented constitute the central core of social structure. Some components are partly systemic; that is, partly structured and partly not. Space, time, and size are such components. Both space and time are to a certain extent utilized as systemic attributes, as facilities, but they are never completely controlled by the system's members and are, therefore, arbitrarily classified as conditions.

Territoriality. The setting of the social system in space is called its *territoriality*. Since actors are biological organisms limited in energy and mobility the actors of all social systems are influenced by spatial considerations. Territoriality determines within limits, how much space each person or group may have, the frequency and intensity of interaction within the group and the probabilities of systemic linkages between groups. The ranch family that lives thirty miles from its nearest neighbor can be expected to manifest different systemic attributes in these respects than the family that lives with hundreds of others in a single block of a huge city. Agencies responsible for such services as health, welfare and education find that territoriality is an important conditioning factor in the dispensation of services. As regards both interaction and systemic linkage as they are affected by territoriality, Robin Williams writes "the greater the functional proximity of individuals in physical space, the greater the likelihood of social interaction. It appears that this is true even in the presence of quite marked prejudices."⁷⁷

Territoriality as a condition is closely related to boundary maintenance. The many boundary disputes between nations, some leading to war, and similar disputes between such geographical subdivisions of nations as states and minor civil divisions all

attest to the importance of space and its relation to boundary maintenance. To the extent that space is controlled in regard to accessibility, is allocated by institutionalized means, and is utilized according to normative prescriptions, it represents a facility to the group in possession at the moment, and at the same time is a condition of action to the groups possessing no rights to a given space at the moment. However, space is rarely regarded in the long run as being permanently accessible and irrevocably allocated to a particular group, nor unchangeable in the use to which it is put. It is thus always a prime target for would-be boundary testers.

Time. Time like space may be a facility, but as a factor in action it generally is inexorable and cannot be made to stand still or be completely controlled by man. It is, therefore, a condition of action. Even though man bridges the generations through the transmission of culture in a manner not possible among other animals, he is none the less time-bound. The inability of social groups to control time accounts in part at least for patterns of change. The systemic phases of primacy of external and internal patterns in systems are treated briefly below. All social systems fluctuate on various dimensions in time. Perhaps the most ambitious study of the fluctuations of social and cultural systems including the evalution of time is that of Sorokin, who sees the "watch-time category [as] the supreme ruler of our mentality, action, life." This, and such evaluations as "*Time is money*" are seen as characteristic of the Sensate-temporalistic mentality.⁷⁸

In directed social change one of the most crucial considerations in strategy is the sequence of events and resultant receptivity. As the change agent tries to link its program to the target system a mistake in timing, of doing the right thing at the wrong time, may result in failure.⁷⁹

Size. Insofar as size of social systems is not controlled by the actors, it may be discussed as a condition of social action. Although inventions which improve men's efficiency in the use of energy tend to increase the size of certain systems, various sub-systems in different organizations, societies, and epochs are remarkably similar.⁸⁰ Homans among others has observed that as bureaucracies are formed certain units or "building blocks" are universally more or less the same size. He says, "It is significant how often a group of between eight and a dozen persons crops up

under the supervision of a single leader in organizations of many different kinds. The old-fashioned squad in the army is an example.”⁸¹

Ordinarily the number of actors supervised directly by one authority is not less than four or five or more than 20 or 30.⁸² The structural-functional significance of the size of a group is a popular subject for research in the study of small groups. The triad has received much attention and much of social theory is based upon the diad.⁸³ Merton has stressed the importance of the relative size both of the group and the sub-group in relation to one another. “For example, communities which have the same *relative* racial composition say, ten per cent Negro and the rest white—will have sociologically different situations, depending on whether the absolute size of the community is a hundred or a hundred thousand.”⁸⁴

He also mentions the problems of the “big fish in a small pond becoming a distinctly small fish in a big pond.”⁸⁵ Such considerations mean that size cannot be controlled at will by actors of a system and must be considered at least in part as a condition of action in systems. Sorokin recognized that in terms of operation, “There seems to be an optimum size of a given type in given circumstances. A great deviation from such an optimum size either in the direction of overgrowth or undergrowth, seems to be negatively correlated with the longevity of the institutions of the same kind.”⁸⁶ After considering patterns and fluctuations of the size of groups he concludes that, “It is improbable that any of the groups could grow to such proportions as to swallow up all the groups of the same kind, the more so since virtually all social groups have a limited life span. Having reached their maximum possible size, sooner or later they decline in size, disintegrate, and eventually disappear.”⁸⁷ In the classical work on stratification, *Social Mobility*, size of social systems and their heterogeneity (in race, sex, health, age, as well as psychologically and socially) are specified as the key determinants of the pattern and level of stratification. Other things being equal “when both of these factors increase, the stratification tends to increase still more; and vice versa.”⁸⁸

The number of specialized status-roles and work teams is related to the size of community (Essay 2). Structural-functional

studies of size of system as related to the various elements and processes abound.⁸⁹

Sorokin lists size—the “number of human agents of the system”—as the first of the five elements responsible for the power of a group.⁹⁰ Size may be a determining factor in a show-down in a power struggle. Its contribution to power is determined, however, by the manner in which the elements are articulated through both the special and master processes.

Whether the internal or the external pattern of a social system receives primary emphasis is very frequently a function of size. To attain maximum returns from the division of labor and the application of technology from the external pattern, the system may of necessity be large. To be normatively integrated large systems must be equipped with authority structures that give primacy to the external pattern. Although small groups may make minimal use of an external pattern and function in a *Gemeinschaft*-like manner, making relationships ends in themselves, it is difficult for large groups to do so. Large groups tend to give relatively greater emphasis to the external pattern.

PATTERN DIFFERENTIATION

An organization may be viewed in terms of the nature of the social relations and interaction necessary to adjust to its environment or to wrest from its environment the essentials for existence and survival. Independent scientists have repeatedly observed that a given collective of individuals interacting within a given social system evince differentiated patterns of relations, determined by the conditions of the situation and/or the functions of the relations for the system. One discernible pattern of relations will here be examined under the heading “external”; another correlate pattern, under the heading “internal.” The actors of a system may call into play predominantly either the external or the internal pattern, but in certain predictable situations, evoke the opposite pattern of relations.

The external pattern. A pattern of interaction which displays the relations necessary for the group's adjustment to its environment and for the attainment of its goals is an *external* pattern.⁹¹ In this pattern the most important structural-functional categories with their elements and processes are 1) *achieving*,

with *end, goal* or *objective* as an element and *goal-attaining activity* as process; and 2) *controlling* with *power* as an element and *decision-making and its initiation into action* as process. The structural-functional heading, *knowing*, is also important for this pattern. Some elements and processes are variable for both the external and internal patterns and account for the differences in the two. Thus *norm* as an element and *evaluation* as a process are central to both patterns, but give to the external pattern its Gesellschaft-like, rational, and instrumental nature.

The more difficult or rugged the environment the more important it becomes that activities be coordinated.⁹² Riecken and Homans have demonstrated that the actors who control the external pattern, often called task leaders, are more frequently accorded respect than love or liking by fellow members.⁹³ Bales has indicated that, as groups attempt to achieve objectives, at least two leadership status-roles are differentiated—the task leader who implements goals and instrumental activity and is, therefore, important to the external system, and the more popular leader who functions as an integrator of the system.⁹⁴ If a popular or "sociometric" leader becomes a task leader, it is difficult for him to revert to the status-role of popular leader. "Each instrumental-adaptive act which brings the group nearer its goal disturbs the equilibrium of the group and creates tension."⁹⁵ The top man in the external system is perceived by fellow members as "source of their tensions" and may be disliked. However he "is valued because he brings the group to one of its goals."⁹⁶ Task leaders, therefore, have high prestige and rank but must have "ability to withstand hostility and disagreement."⁹⁷ Riecken and Homans advance the interesting hypothesis that in the external pattern the inhibition on liking of authority figures creates a "fund" of sentiment which may flow to equals.⁹⁸ No doubt part of the well known stress experienced by incumbents of such status-roles as foremen in factories or departmental heads in universities results from the expectation that they will articulate both the external and internal patterns at least on occasion.⁹⁹ In the manifesting of the external pattern tension must be managed, sanctions applied, facilities used, status-roles allocated, and action whether technical or political tends to be based upon rationally effective cognitive mapping and validation.

The internal pattern. The internal pattern is a pattern of interaction which consists of those relations that focus upon the expression of sentiments of system members toward one another.¹⁰⁰ Among the structural-functional categories with their elements and processes as shown in Figure 1, the primary one is *feeling* with *sentiment* as an element and *communication of sentiment* as process. This is the most crucial, although there are others that are important. In the internal pattern, influence and informal ranking, including the part of the status-role not necessarily involving authority, as well as evaluation of actors are often operative. This stands in contrast to the authority component of status-role so important in the external pattern. The *knowing* activity in the internal pattern differs too from that activity in the external pattern. Actors in the external pattern specialize in knowledge of techniques, skills and physical data and validate their knowledge by rational empirical tests; the actors in the internal pattern excel in knowledge of other actors and validate their knowledge by continuing affective, particularistic interaction.

Internal vs. external patterns and related differentiations. The differentiation of patterns of interaction is obviously an analytical process. By looking at social action and interaction from a particular point of view there may be observed the external and internal patterns which are manifested in all concrete social action engaged in by social organizations. Pursuing the same line of analysis, these patterns may be further differentiated with resultant refined precision in the observance of social interaction. There follows a brief description of the interrelations between the external and internal patterns, followed by additional differentiations which analyses have revealed.

The two patterns, the external and internal, represent selections from the structural-functional whole which comprises a given social system. Homans indirectly touches upon this selectivity:

In the external system [pattern] the sentiments being expressed are those a person brings to the group from his life outside the group, whereas in the internal system the sentiments—favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward other members of the group—are generated or released in a person by his experience within the group.¹⁰¹

Riecken and Homans write:

As internal rewards (satisfactions stemming from a member's rank and his interaction) decrease, external rewards (gains realized by achieving the group task) must be increased in order to keep the member in the group and at work on the task (barring, of course, the use of external constraints or punishment to accomplish these ends).¹⁰²

Seldom are all relationships or activities of an organization solely directed toward adaptation or goal attainment. As Homans has written:

We shall not go far wrong if, for the moment, we think of the external system as group behavior that enables the group to survive in its environment and think of the internal system as group behavior that is an expression of the sentiments toward one another developed by the members of the group in the course of their life together.¹⁰³

In the life of most groups engaged in goal attaining or adaptive activity periods of intense action in which the external pattern has primacy are followed by periods of activity in which the internal pattern has primacy in a sort of systolic-diastolic sequence not unlike the sequence of work and rest or sleep in the biologic organism. These phases in social systems are *Gesellschaft*-like and *Gemeinschaft*-like sequences. This is recognized by Parsons who writes that the system-integrative and the instrumental norms "very closely characterize what in much sociological literature have been thought of as polar types of institutional structure, the best known version of which perhaps has been the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy of Toennies."¹⁰⁴ The following model as presented by Parsons and Bales by way of analogy indicates the relationship and nature of the external and internal patterns:

We might perhaps use the metaphor of a ship driving at high speed through sea. Not only does the ship make progress through the water in the direction of its goal, but this process creates new structures in the body of water, i.e., "waves" on *both* sides of the bow. Because of the piling up of water in these waves the pressure against the sides of the ship is greater than it would be were it standing still and this is true on both sides of the initial source of disturbance. Our suggestion is that a system of action cannot "drive" toward a goal without creating increased pressure both in the adaptive context and in the integrative. Without such pressure toward a goal there would be no differentiation.

But the distinction between adaptive and integrative exigencies of the system forms the basic axis on which differentiation takes place when it occurs.¹⁰⁵

The analytical distinctions revealed in the above metaphor are further illustrated as they are applied to well-known social groups. Collectivities such as families or friendship groups which are often described as *Gemeinschaft*-like and as having strong internal patterns also manifest external patterns in goal attaining or adaptive activities. The articulation of authority which is important in the external patterns of such collectivities may frequently determine who will interact in the internal pattern and consequently who will intermarry or become members of friendship groups.¹⁰⁶ Robin Williams has noted the "rapid oscillation between the two interlaced structures, between the formal-centralized and informal-local emphases," (called external and internal patterns in the present volume) which transpires in bureaucracies as they become larger and more complex.¹⁰⁷ Since "the oscillations will not be random"¹⁰⁸ it becomes the job of the social scientist to predict their nature and advent. Whether social systems are viewed from the vantage point of the social scientist or the administrator the differentiation of patterns of this type appears to be of crucial importance.

The best known extension of Homans' external-internal differentiation is that of Parsons who observes in both the external and internal types an instrumental or non-instrumental variation.

Instrumental vs. non-instrumental pattern differentiation. Social systems which give primacy to the external pattern as well as those which give primacy to the internal pattern may be differentiated on various bases. Parsons has stressed the instrumental-consummatory axis of differentiation. Thus external patterns which "specialize with reference to the mediation of relations between the system and the situation external to it," may be differentiated and attention focused upon those in which the instrumental pattern has primacy.¹⁰⁹ In terms of the PAS Model (Figure 1), emphasis in the external-instrumental pattern is upon the *utilization of facilities* for adaptive and productive means. Attention may likewise be focused upon those external patterns in which the consummatory pattern has primacy. In terms of the PAS Model em-

phasis in the external-consummatory pattern is upon the *goal attaining processes* with reference to the environment. In this differentiation *if action is the focus of attention*, norms of universalism and specificity will characterize the external-instrumental pattern; whereas, norms of affectivity and performance will characterize the external-consummatory pattern as Parsons uses this differentiation. *If the focus of attention is on facilities*, their utilization for adapting to the environment and for non-consummatory production will receive the chief emphasis in the external-instrumental pattern; whereas, their use for consummatory purposes in adjusting to the environment will have primacy in the external-consummatory pattern. This may perhaps be illustrated by action in warfare. During the heat of battle while the external-instrumental pattern has primacy (or, on the PAS Model, emphasis upon utilization of facilities for adaptive purposes prevails) a given battalion may follow norms which stress "instrumental considerations for the system as a whole relative to its external situation."¹¹⁰ After the battle is over and while the spoils of battle or other "resources" are utilized according to the prevailing norms, the external-consummatory pattern prevails (or goal attaining activity on the PAS Model) "in which consummatory interests for the system as such in relation to the situation external to it (goal-attainment) constitute the primary reference."¹¹¹

Internal patterns may also be differentiated on various bases. Parsons differentiates them on an instrumental-consummatory axis. The actors in those internal patterns which have instrumental primacy use facilities or resources in boundary maintenance and tension management to maintain patterns and to preserve subsystems. For those internal patterns in which the consummatory pattern has primacy, integration of the whole system may be furthered by communication of sentiment and other expressive activities.

The "halo effect" in disaster as discussed in Essay 3 may be considered in reference to the internal-consummatory and internal-instrumental patterns. After the privations brought on by disaster have been alleviated and the great activity involved in rescue and rehabilitation work has passed its crest there results an upsurging of sentiments and a great outpouring of affection among members of the disrupted system in which many distinctions such

as those of stratification are ignored. The expressive activity of collectivities including whole communities may at first be classified as internal-consummatory during the period when the "halo effect" is at its height. However, those mechanisms or "resources" necessary for the permanence of expectancy patterns are not yet institutionalized. The internal-instrumental pattern which may develop later provides this institutionalization so that patterns may be maintained and tensions managed on a sustained and predictable basis. To employ another example, cults and sects with charismatic leaders as discussed in Essays 4 and 5 may give primacy to the internal-consummatory pattern in inter-member relations. As the charisma is routinized the internal-instrumental pattern may gain in importance. As the examples illustrate, the internal-consummatory and the internal-instrumental patterns both involve sentiment; the actors in the former give primacy to the communication of sentiment, supportive to the integration of the whole group; those of the latter emphasize boundary maintenance and tension management, supportive to pattern maintenance and sub-system preservation. (On the PAS Model integration of the whole system is supported by *communication of sentiment*, *utilization of facilities* for expressive and integrative purposes, and *systemic linkage*; sub-systems are preserved and patterns maintained through the processes of *tension management*, *utilization of facilities* for boundary maintenance, socialization, and *institutionalization* and *boundary maintenance* as exhibited in most of the elemental processes.)

If the system under analysis is a society, the external-instrumental pattern and adaptive functions are carried on by the economy which in empirical terms includes such organizations as factories and other productive concerns. The external-consummatory pattern or goal attainment functions are carried on by the "polity" or in empirical terms "the government [which] in complex societies, mobilizes goods and services for the attainment of specific goals of the total society regarded as a single social system."¹¹² The internal-consummatory pattern and integrative functions provides solidarity and morale and may on the empirical level involve some religious leaders, journalists, courts, lawyers, and judges. The internal-instrumental pattern in which pattern maintenance is provided in empirical terms is in large measure

supplied by such organizations as families, schools, and other collectivities involved in socialization. Families, health agencies, and many other pluralities also manage tension.

Distinctions among these various patterns are useful chiefly as tools of analysis. Thus it has been observed that, "The tendency, in primitive and so-called backward societies, to fuse pattern-maintenance [the internal-instrumental pattern elaborated above] and adaptive ('economic') functions [the external-instrumental pattern elaborated above] in kinship groups is one of the basic reasons for economic traditionalism or stagnation in such societies . . . The fusion of the polity [the external-consummatory pattern elaborated above] and the economy in totalitarian societies means almost inevitably that economic production [the external-instrumental pattern] in those societies is subordinated to political purposes to a far greater extent than in our own society."¹¹³ Nevertheless any consideration of the empirical nature of any organization will involve all the patterns mentioned. In analytical terms it may be observed that systems which give primacy to the external-instrumental pattern are *Gesellschaft*-like; those which give primacy to the internal-consummatory pattern are *Gemeinschaft*-like.

NOTES

1. Social action for Florian Znaniecki stressed conscious performances, "i.e., those in the course of which the agent, the X who acts (whoever he may be), experiences the data included in his performance, and is aware of the changes which he is producing." *Cultural Sciences* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 187.

2. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics—A System of General Sociology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 40.

3. Talcott Parsons, "The Social System: A General Theory of Action," in *Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior*, edited by Roy R. Grinker, (New York: Basic Books, 1956), pp. 55-56. Here Parsons gives Robert R. Sears credit for the term, "double contingency."

4. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press 1951), p. 58. This is the most important reference for the concept, social system. In the present volume, the terms organization, association, agency, collectivity, and group are used to refer to social units composed of specific member or actor status-roles and may be designated as concrete empirical entities such as Family A or Athletic Team Y. An institution is defined as a patterned set of expectancies and procedures for organizations such as marriage for the family or certification of players for athletic teams. Any or-

ganization may be the focus of several institutions and an institution such as private property may apply to many organizations. Thus, the institution specifies the procedures to be followed by actors of a given social system.

5. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1957), p. 444.

6. In delineating the social system, some scholars have gone beyond amount and type of interaction to specify that members are motivated and that action is normative. Talcott Parsons, whose name is perhaps most often associated with the concept of social system, has observed that in bare essentials it consists of a plurality of status-roles played by actors interacting with one another in a situation possessing symbolic and physical aspects; actors who are concerned with optimizing their gratifications and minimizing their deprivations; actors who are motivated; whose relations to their total situations, inclusive of one another, are defined and mediated in terms of a shared and structured set of symbols. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6. See also Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 5.

7. Societies whether primitive tribes, nations in peace time, or several nations engaged in war against a common enemy are social systems. However, not all primitive groups, nations, or groups of warring nations are societies. Marion Levy's definition of society is suitable for our purpose: A society is a system of action in operation that (1) involves a plurality of interacting individuals of a given species (or group of species) whose actions are primarily oriented to the system concerned and who are recruited at least in part by the sexual reproduction of members of the plurality involved, (2) is at least in theory self-sufficient for the actions of this plurality, and (3) is capable of existing longer than the life span of an individual of the type (or types) involved. Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 113.

8. As Howard Becker writes "social actions in their 'dynamic' aspects are social processes; in their 'static' aspects, social structures." "Interpretive Sociology and Constructive Typology," in Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore, (eds.), *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 78. An adequate consideration of social change must differentiate between 1) "processes of change of the system itself . . . resulting in changes in the structure of the system," and 2) "particular processes of change within social systems." Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *ibid.*, p. 480. In the consideration that follows the "elemental" processes are ordinarily most pertinent for analysis of change within systems. The "comprehensive or master" processes, especially boundary maintenance systemic linkage and institutionalization, are important for the analysis of total system change. Sorokin has perhaps provided the most comprehensive definition and description of process: "By process is meant any kind of movement, or modification, or transformation, or alteration, or 'evolution,' in brief any change, of a given logical subject in the course of time, whether it be a change in its place in space or a modification of its quantitative or qualitative aspects." Original in italics. *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Sorokin says, the study of process must specify the unit involved, the time and spatial relations and the direction. Parsons has developed

"four functional problems or exigencies" of action systems in general. See "Some Comments on the State of General Theory of Action," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, 1953, No. 6, December 1953, p. 625. Earlier Robert E. Park had delineated three such problems: In "Sociology and the Social Sciences" Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, (eds.), *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 46. From Park's earlier article "Sociology and the Social Sciences; The Group Concept and Social Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (September 1921), pp. 169-183.

The six functional problems of Robert F. Bales closely resemble both structural-functional categories and processes of the present author. "A Set of Categories for the Analysis of Small Group Interaction," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April, 1950, p. 258. These functional problems all are related to the tools of structural-functional analysis as discussed below.

9. Parsons has stated, "*a general theory of the processes of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge*," because there is insufficient knowledge "of process of the system." (Quotation in italics.) *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

10. Henry W. Riecken and George C. Homans, "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure," *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Gardner Lindsey (ed.) (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954), p. 825. (Brackets and the word, pattern, added by the present author, Vol. 2.)

11. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

12. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 486. See also Wilbert E. Moore, "A Note on the Measurement of Social Change," *Social Science Research Council Items*, Vol. 12, No. 4, December, 1958, pp. 42 and 43 and "A Reconsideration of the Theory of Social Change," *Festschrift for Pitirim Sorokin*, tentative title, forthcoming. Edited by Edward A. Tiryakian. See also Arthur K. Davis, "Lessons from Sorokin," *ibid.*

13. Florian Znaniecki saw the necessity of incorporating the dynamic in sociological analyses and this led him to use the concept, system. In Herbert Blumer, *Critiques of Research in Social Sciences, I—An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,"* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939), p. 95.

14. Howard Becker, "Current Sacred—Secular Theory and its Development," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (eds.), *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), p. 176. According to Kingsley Davis, "Modern society has gone farther than any other in its positive evaluation of change . . ." *Human Society*, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 77.

15. George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

16. See Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 128-129.

17. William Howells, *Back of History* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, 1954), p. 254. For a prior but somewhat different use of the concept, "cognitive mapping," see Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.* Note 6, p. 126.

18. This is stated as the "linguistic relativity hypothesis," of Edward

Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. See Joseph B. Casagrande, "The Southwest Project in Comparative Psycholinguistics: A Progress Report," *Items*, Social Science Research Council, Vol. 10, No. 4, December, 1957.

19. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, tr. by Louis Wirth and E. A. Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), pp. 36-37.

20. Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 348. For further description of human group behavior without the restraining influences of tension managing social structures see Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd* (London: Unwin, 1896). Edgar F. Borgatta and Henry J. Meyer (eds.), *Sociological Theory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 161.

21. Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 314ff. A most fascinating analysis of preferential mating as a tension management mechanism purports to prove that the same kinds of motivation that make matrilateral cross-cousin marriage particularly appropriate in patrilineal society make patrilateral cross-cousin marriage peculiarly appropriate in matrilineal society. This is explained in large part on the ground that "authority discourages intimacy, or 'there is a separation made between jural relations and relations of personal attachment' . . . and that sentiment plays its part in marriage in primitive societies as well as in modern Western ones." George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, *Marriage, Authority and Final Causes* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 58. See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural and Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 52ff for further discussion of tension management through institutionalized mechanisms.

22. Erving Goffman, "Embarrassment and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 62, No. 3, November, 1956, p. 270.

23. Marion J. Levy, Jr., makes "regulation of affective expression" a functional requisite for any society. *Op. cit.*, pp. 183 and 184.

24. Talcott Parsons *et al.*, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 104.

25. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality*, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Sorokin discusses purposive and "because of" action.

26. Robert K. Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51. See also S. F. Nadel, *The Foundations of Social Anthropology* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 275.

27. The instrumental activity is what in this volume is called *Gesellschaft*-like, the integrative and expressive *Gemeinschaft*-like. See Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957). Talcott Parsons has observed that "attention may be particularly called to the combinations involved in what are here called the instrumental and system-integrative norms, which very closely characterize what in much sociological literature have been thought of as polar types of institutional structure, the best known version of which perhaps has been the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy of Toennies." *Working Papers*, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 and 208 fn. 11. See also Oliver Garceau,

"Interest Group Theory in Political Research," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 319, September, 1958, p. 108.

28. Robert K. Merton, *op. cit.*, Note 26, is the most important reference for manifest and latent functions. Homans makes activities in general an element of the social system along with his other elements: sentiment, (with rank subsumed under sentiment), norm, and interaction.

29. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality*, *op. cit.*, p. 73. "Law-norms are the essence—the skeleton, the heart, and the soul—of any organized group or institution." *Ibid.*, p. 77.

30. George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 417. For definitions of norms and their relation to other elements see: A. Zaleznik *et al.*, *The Motivation, Productivity and Satisfaction of Workers* (Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1958), p. 44, and Kingsley Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

31. Howard Becker, *Current Sacred-Secular Theory . . . Op. cit.*, p. 141. See also Richard Morris, "A Typology of Norms," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 5, October, 1956, p. 610. The crucial distinction made by Merton between "cultural goals" and "institutionalized means" is maintained by the present author under the terms "ends" and "norms." *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 166 and "Priorities in Scientific Discovery," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22, No. 6, December, 1957, p. 649. See also Robert Dubin's, Richard A. Cloward's and Robert K. Merton's articles in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2, April, 1957 and Talcott Parsons' *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-267 and 321-325. See also W. L. Kolb, "The Changing Prominence of Values in Modern Sociological Theory," in *Modern Sociological Theory*, edited by Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 111.

32. Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in *Class, Status and Power*, edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 93. Some of the most important contributions in systemic evaluation as the term is used in the present volume have been made by S. M. Eisenstadt. See his "Reference Group Behavior and Social Integration: An Explorative Study," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 175ff, and "Political Struggle in Bureaucratic Societies, *World Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Oct. 1956, pp. 15ff.

33. The process of evaluation as described here seems not unlike the forces which put into operation what Gillin calls "value beliefs." John Gillin, in *Education and Anthropology*, edited by George D. Spindler (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 64. Clyde Kluckhohn writes "affective ('desirable'), cognitive ('conception'), and conative ('selection') elements are all essential to this notion of value." See Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, *op. cit.*, p. 395, and p. 411.

34. This double reference as well as the mirrored or "looking-glass-self," to use Cooley's expression, or "double contingency" aspects, to use Parsons' characterization, have in part led to the difficulties encountered by various theorists and investigators who have worked with the concept. See Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason and H. W. McEachern, *Exploration in Role Analysis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), p. 71 and Richard Videbeck,

"Dynamic Properties of the Concept Role," *Midwest Sociologist*, Vol. XX, No. 2, May, 1958, pp. 104ff. For a plea for systemic analysis see, Howard S. Becker, "Explorations in Role Analysis," Book Review, *Ibid.*

35. The author has prepared mimeographed notations relating his usage to that of Neal Gross *et al.*, Robert K. Merton, S. F. Nadel and several others. It was too lengthy to print. Those interested may procure the notations from the author.

36. The power of social systems is even more difficult to explain and categorize than the power of single actors. Sorokin has summarized the attributes of power in groups. See *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, *op. cit.*, p. 644.

37. See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1953), pp. 136ff.

38. "General Theory in Sociology," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 5.

39. For pertinent examples see Charles P. Loomis and Dwight Davidson, "Measurement of Dissolution of In-Groups in the Integration of a Rural Resettlement Project," *Sociometry*, Vol. 2, No. 2, April, 1939, and Edward C. Banfield, *Government Project* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951).

40. Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 252ff.

41. Following the analysis presented in Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5ff. For an insightful analysis of social class which deemphasizes class conflict see C. Arnold Anderson, "Need for a Functional Theory of Social Class," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 2, June, 1954, pp. 152-160.

42. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, pp. 369ff.

43. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1927), p. 12.

44. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Mentor Edition, (New York: The New American Library, 1953), p. 66. Tumin writes, "neither race, nor family, nor outlook on life, nor common prestige, nor common association is seen as a primary criterion of class [in Puerto Rico]. Instead, the emphasis is overwhelmingly on the criteria ordinarily used in most other class-stratified societies: income, occupation, education, wealth, and style of life." Melvin M. Tumin, *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico*, (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), ch. 24. This remarkable study was unfortunately not available in published form at the time of the first printing for further citation.

45. Stuart Adams, "Status Congruence as a Variable in Small Group Performance," *Social Forces*, VI. 32, No. 1, October 1953, pp. 16-22. See also Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3, June, 1957, and G. E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4, August, 1954, pp. 405-413. These studies indicate that persons lacking status consistency in society generally are likely to want changes in the social order.

46. A. Zaleznik *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47ff.

47. Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of

Social Stratification," *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff. The conception of status-role allocation as process as used in the present volume is not unlike the concept of role assignment as employed by Levy. "Role assignment as a function may be defined as the state of affairs that exists when the obligations, rights, and expected performances involved in roles are taught and allocated to an individual or individuals." Marion J. Levy, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

48. This particular form of sanction has perhaps been most dramatically presented by Sorokin in *Society, Culture, and Personality*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

49. Robert K. Merton *et al.*, *The Student Physician*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

51. Walter Firey and Ivan Belknap, "The Problem of Standardizing Observations in Sociology," Unpublished Manuscript. A revised version of this was published in *Alpha Kappa Delta*, Spring 1960.

52. *Ibid.*

53. W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: The Viking Press, 1922), Part 4. For a devastating criticism of this theory see Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality*, *op. cit.*, ch. 44.

54. R. M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1949), pp. 498ff.

55. Alfred Weber, "Prinzipielles zur Kultursoziologie," *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Vol. 47, 1921.

56. George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, *op. cit.*, chs. 4, 5, and 6.

57. Talcott Parsons, "General Theory in Sociology," *op. cit.*, pp. 6ff.

58. National Training Laboratory in Group Development, *Explorations in Human Relations Training* (National Education Association and Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, 1954), p. 74. R. F. Bales, "A Set of Categories for the Analysis of Small Group Interaction," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April, 1950, p. 261 and *Interaction Process Analysis, A Method for the Study of Small Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950).

59. See W. Lloyd Warner, *The Living and the Dead, The Yankee City Series* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959). See also Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, and *Rural Social Systems*, *op. cit.*, p. 790. Here symbols are used as an element in systemic analysis.

60. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. "It has been suggested that the greatest resistance to change and reorganization will occur in certain universal categories of cultural adaptation: maintenance systems, communication systems, and security systems . . ." "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 56, No. 6. December, 1954, p. 991. Paper resulting from a Social Science Research Council Seminar composed of H. G. Barnet, Leonard Broom, Bernard J. Siegel, Evon Z. Vogt, and James B. Watson.

61. See Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, pp. 298 and 316.

62. Charles P. Loomis "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito, New Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 1, March 1959. See also Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology—The Strategy of Change*, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230. Here the process was called social-cultural linkage. Charles P. Loomis, "Tentative Types of Directed Social Change Involving Systemic Linkage,"

Rural Sociology, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 1959; and Calvin Redekop and Charles P. Loomis, "The Development of Status-roles in the Systemic Linkage Process," *Journal of Human Relations*, Vol. 8, No. 2, March 1960.

63. These linkages exist by virtue of what Merton calls the status-set the role-set. *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, pp. 369ff. The present author believes that conceptualization focusing on systemic linkage would have made the many studies and theoretical discussions of acculturation and culture contact to be found in the anthropological literature (and urbanization found in sociological and more recently in anthropological literature) more meaningful. For steps in this direction see Edward H. Spicer, Edward P. Dozier and George C. Barker, "Social Structure and Acculturation Process," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 60, No. 3, June, 1958. For more complete discussion and bibliography of the subject of acculturation see Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 621-642.

64. David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 321-351. See also Seymour Martin Lipset "Political Sociology," in Robert K. Merton *et al.*, *Sociology Today*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff.

65. See Donald Young, "Sociology and the Practicing Professions," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 6, Dec. 1955, pp. 641-648. See also Donald Young, "Universities and Cooperation Among Metropolitan Professions," in Robert M. Fisher, ed., *The Metropolis in Modern Life*, (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

66. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

67. Marion J. Levy, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

68. Robert K. Merton, *The Student Physician*, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

70. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233.

71. Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 150.

72. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-320. See also Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-362.

73. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 206. Marion J. Levy, Jr. observes that the scarcity of means, frustrations of expectations and imperfections of socialization makes this process a requisite. *Op. cit.*, p. 191. Merton has observed "a group cannot persist without substantial measure of social control." Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

74. Parsons writes that "The mechanism of social control . . . is a motivational process in one or more *individual* actors which tends to *counteract* a tendency to deviance from the fulfillment of role-expectations, in himself or in one or more alters. It is a re-equilibrating mechanism." *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

75. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, *et al.*, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 20. For a demonstration of this principle see Ivan Belknap and Hiram J. Friedsam, "Age and Sex Categories as Sociological Variables in the Mental Disorders of Later Maturity," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3, June, 1949, pp. 367ff.

76. Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951).

77. Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Racial and Cultural Relations," *Review of Sociology*, edited by J. B. Gittler (New York: John Wiley Sons, 1957), p. 438.

78. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, *op. cit.* p. 319. For a discussion of differentiation in the evaluation of time and the utilization of systemic time see Pitirim A. Sorokin and Robert K. Merton, "Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 42, No. 5, March, 1937, pp. 615-629.

79. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology—The Strategy of Change*, *op. cit.* Folk expressions when applied to social action such as "putting the cart before the horse," or "trying to run before learning to walk," indicate the importance of timing events.

80. W. Fred Cottrell, *Energy and Society: The Relation Between Energy, Social Change and Economic Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955).

81. *The Human Group*, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

82. Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 75.

83. Theodore Caplow, "Further Development of a Theory of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 64, No. 5, March, 1959. The early writings of Georg Simmel is of special importance in such studies. Edgar F. Borgatta, Robert F. Bales, A. Paul Hare and many others made substantial contributions later. See A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, Robert F. Bales, *Small Groups* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

84. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

85. *Ibid.*

86. P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality*, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 452.

88. P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1927), p. 85.

89. Edwin J. Thomas, "Role Conceptions and Organizational Size," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, February, 1959, pp. 30ff. See bibliography here. For the relation of size to power see Frederic W. Terrien and Donald L. Mills, "The Effect of Changing Size Upon the Internal Structure of Organizations," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1, February, 1955, pp. 11ff.

90. P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, *op. cit.*, p. 644.

91. George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), p. 90. See also Talcott Parsons, "General Theory in Sociology," in *Sociology Today*, edited by Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 5ff; See W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 21, and W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937), p. 10.

92. George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

93. Henry W. Riecken and George C. Homans, "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), Vol. II, p. 821. This differentiation was noted earlier by Helen Hall Jennings, *Leadership and*

Isolation: A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950, 2nd ed.), pp. 275-276.

94. See Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 144ff. and Henry W. Riecken and George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 820.

95. Henry W. Riecken and George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 824.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.*, p. 825.

99. Fritz J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman, Master and Victim of Double Talk," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 33, Spring, 1945. See also Arthur K. Davis, "The Navy Disbursing Officer as a Bureaucrat," *Reader in Bureaucracy*, edited by Robert K. Merton, *et al.* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 382.

100. George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 110. See also A. Zaleznik, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 34ff.

101. George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Words in brackets added by the present author.

102. Riecken and Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 810. See also F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, "Formal and Informal Status," in Robert K. Merton *et al.*, *Reader in Bureaucracy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 255ff.

103. George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

104. Talcott Parsons, *Working Papers*, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208, fn. 11.

105. Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 381-382.

106. George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 and 242, and George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, *Marriage, Authority and Final Causes* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 58.

107. Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Continuity and Change in Sociological Study," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 6, December, 1958, p. 627.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 628.

109. Talcott Parsons, "General Theory in Sociology," *op. cit.*, p. 5.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

111. *Ibid.*

112. Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960), p. 54.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

ESSAY 2

THE DIVISION OF LABOR, THE COMMUNITY, AND SOCIETY

The present essay is concerned with the systemic aspects of work teams, communities, and societies, and the interrelations of these systems.¹ Particular attention is paid to the differences in these systems in so-called underdeveloped and modern industrialized and urbanized societies.² Figure 1 classifies the areas and the societies of the world into those that are "underdeveloped," "intermediate," and "developed." Some two-thirds of the people of the world live in underdeveloped areas and must contend with "a self-perpetuating vicious circle of poverty, disease, hunger, ignorance, and lack of technological skills and capital to improve their lot."³ Table 1 indicates for the societies in these areas some important differences which can largely be related to variations in the division of labor and in the technologies within the collectivities. As underdeveloped societies industrialize, shifting patterns of emphasis among the systemic elements and processes are discernible. Social systems persist and change.

THE GEMEINSCHAFT-GESELLSCHAFT TYPOLOGY

Certain patterns of social relations tend to predominate in underdeveloped, nonindustrialized societies; others appear and have primacy in highly technological societies. This theme which, as Sorokin⁴ has noted, has been a major preoccupation of philosophers and scholars through the ages, was observed and explored with insightful clarity by Ferdinand Toennies.⁵ In the nineteenth

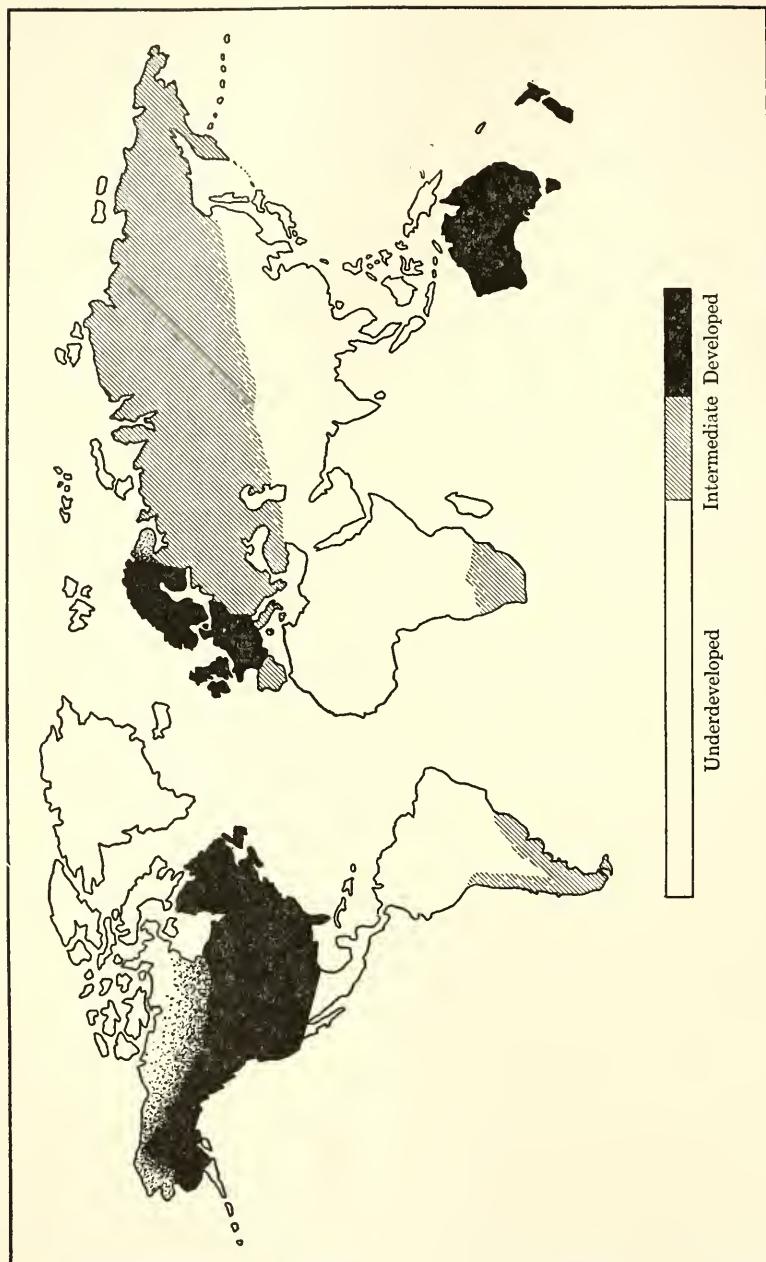


FIGURE 1
MAP SHOWING AREAS OF THE WORLD CLASSIFIED AS UNDERDEVELOPED, INTERMEDIATE,
AND DEVELOPED.*

* Adapted from *The Point Four Program*, Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series 23, Department of State, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949.

and early twentieth centuries, Toennies designated as *Gemeinschaft* the "social order which—being based upon consensus of wills—rests on harmony and is developed and enabled by folkways, mores and religion"; he gave the name *Gesellschaft* to the "order which—being based upon a union of rational wills—rests on convention and agreement, is safeguarded by political legislation, and finds its ideological justification in public opinion."⁶ In the work teams, families, communities, societies and other collectivities which are *Gemeinschaft*-like, human relations are ends in themselves; intimacy and sentiment are expected among the actors; norms are traditional and characterized by the features listed at the left of Figure 2. In the *Gesellschaft*-like associations, relations and actors are used instrumentally; interaction is impersonal and affectively neutral; actors are not known in their entirety to each other; and norms are rational rather than traditional. The constellations of characteristics which cluster around the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* poles respectively, as shown in Figure 2, reveal by their contrast the major differences in interaction as it takes place in the two ideal types of social systems.⁷ The polar types *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are not to be confused with the external and internal patterns of interaction. The *Gemeinschaft*-like and *Gesellschaft*-like social systems both exhibit the external pattern, which is goal-directed and power-laden, and the internal pattern, which is sentiment-laden and expressive.

TABLE 1

FOOD SUPPLY, ECONOMIC, HEALTH, AND EDUCATIONAL INDEXES FOR
UNDERDEVELOPED, INTERMEDIATE, AND DEVELOPED AREAS

| Category of Countries | Calories per Capita | Income per capita (U.S. dollars equivalent per annum) | Industrial Investment per Worker (Index = 100) | Physicians per 100,000 | Life Expectancy at Birth | Illiteracy (in percent) |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|--|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Underdeveloped . . | 2,150 | \$ 41 | 11 | 17 | 30 | 78 |
| Intermediate | 2,760 | 154 | 39 | 78 | 52 | 20 |
| Developed | 3,040 | 461 | 100 | 106 | 63 | 5 |

SOURCE: *The Point Four Program*, Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series 23, Department of State (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

An ideal type, of which the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomy is an example, is a "purposive, planned selection, abstraction, combination, and accentuation of a set of criteria that have empirical referents and that serve as a basis for comparison of empirical cases."⁸ Such types as heuristic devices derive their utility in social science more from their capacity to explain empirical reality than from their accuracy in correspondence with such reality. Ideal types serve to order concrete data by relating them to the poles of a given vector or variable. At the poles the particular vector may be exaggerated or intensified in abstraction for this heuristic purpose. Culminating at one pole at the left of Figure 2 are the various vectors illustrating sub-ideal-types which together compose the major ideal type, the Gemeinschaft. At the right side, and composed similarly of sub-ideal-types, is the Gesellschaft pole. Toennies described such concepts as nails on which the facts of experience could be hung or clamps which could clasp bundles of reality and thus serve as tools in the production of knowledge.⁹ No social system could persist if relations were either completely Gemeinschaft-like or completely Gesellschaft-like. This fact does not prevent the human mind from conceiving of such "ideal types" and using them for comparative and ordering purposes. In fact this is their chief value.¹⁰

Toennies showed that Aristotle and Hobbes were both right. Each had focused on different aspects of social life: Man was indeed by his very nature a social being who would unfold his essence only by living in communities of kindred, space (neighborhood), and spirit, but who was also capable of forming and, at certain stages in history, compelled to form new kinds of associations by agreements—associations which could be understood as instruments for the attainment of certain ends—whereas those 'older' communities were taken as ends in themselves and therefore could not be understood by a utilitarian approach.¹¹

In both industrialized and nonindustrialized communities, past and present, the size of community as reflected in its population count or other similar index is correlated positively with the number and variety of reference groups, as well as the number of occupational status-roles available to actors.¹² The relation is expressed by Paul Meadows as follows: "Urbanization is the indispensable partner of industrialization, the measure of its growth,

FIGURE 2

PROFILES DESCRIBING MAJOR TYPES AND SUB-TYPES OF ACTION AS RELATED TO PERTINENT NORMS IN WORK TEAMS OF BUREAUCRACIES IN INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETY (GESELLSCHAFT) AND PRIMITIVE AND PEASANT SOCIETY (GEMEINSCHAFT) *

| GEMEINSCHAFT | | | | | | | | | | GESELLSCHAFT | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Polar Evaluation Norms | | | | | | | | | | Polar Evaluation Norms | | | | | | | | | |
| Particularism ** | | | | | | | | | | Universalism | | | | | | | | | |
| Affectivity ** | | | | | | | | | | Affective Neutrality | | | | | | | | | |
| Functional Diffuseness ** | | | | | | | | | | Functional Specificity | | | | | | | | | |
| Expressive-Consummatory | | | | | | | | | | Instrumental | | | | | | | | | |
| Ascription ** (Quality) | | | | | | | | | | Achievement (Performance) | | | | | | | | | |
| Traditional # | | | | | | | | | | Rational # | | | | | | | | | |
| Familistic # # | | | | | | | | | | Contractual # # | | | | | | | | | |
| Sacred ★ Proverbial Prescriptive Principal Pronormless Secular ★ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PROCESSES REPRESENTED BY NUMBER ABOVE | | | | | | | | | | ELEMENTS ARTICULATED | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Cognitive mapping and validation | | | | | | | | | | Belief (Knowledge) | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. a) Tension management and b) Communication of sentiment | | | | | | | | | | Sentiment | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. a) Goal attaining and b) Concomitant "latent" activity | | | | | | | | | | End | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Evaluation | | | | | | | | | | Norm | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Status-role performance | | | | | | | | | | Status-role (position) | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. a) Evaluation of actors and b) Allocation of status-roles | | | | | | | | | | Rank | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. a) Decision making and b) Initiation of action | | | | | | | | | | Power | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Application of sanctions | | | | | | | | | | Sanction | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. Utilization of facilities | | | | | | | | | | Facility | | | | | | | | | |

* The continua presented in Fig. 2 (except one) were used in various forms to type students' relations to their fathers at age fifteen and their relations as GI's to commanding officers in army camps during World War II, and to compare a

the mirror of its complexities, the interpreter of its values, and the matrix of its expansion.”¹³ As functions and processes are divided among the actors of the community in the ever proliferating division of labor, actors are provided with more opportunities for choice and are likewise subjected to conflicts from the demands of contradicting systems, norms, and status-roles. The more status-roles available in a society, the more varied is the impact of activities upon a given actor and the more functionally specific the demands are likely to be. Although there are exceptions, *Gemeinschaft*-like communities tend to be small and have relatively few sub-systems, the principal one usually being the family. In the extreme, the *Gesellschaft*-like community has an infinite number of actors with an infinite number of sub-systems and status-roles which may serve as references for the actor.

Figure 3 describes the relation between population concentration and the number of work teams for 26 nonindustrial societies. Similar relations hold for the number of craft specialties and the population in these same societies. Thus in industrialized and non-industrialized communities the extent of social differentiation and technological development may be judged by the concentration of population. As Marx observed, “the whole economic history of *Gesellschaft*, i.e., of the modern nations, is in essence summarized in the change in the relationship between town and country.”¹⁴

government bureau, a Spanish-American ditch cooperative, and an Amish family. In the original presentation [Loomis and Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1950), Chapter 1 and Appendix A], the one subtype not used was Parsons’ pattern variable, ascription (quality) versus achievement (performance), which was submerged in the more general terms, familistic versus contractual. The other types at the top of Fig. 2 are Parsons’, which he used as dichotomies entering at four different levels of action (Parsons, *op. cit.*). These variables can also be conceived of as systemic attributes and treated as continua. We may therefore speak of “more or less” rather than “either/or,” and conceive of communities and work teams as going concerns whose behavior conforms and deviates in varying degrees from the polar ends of the continua. For an attempt to use this procedure see Charles P. Loomis and John C. McKinney, “Systemic Differences Between Latin-American Communities of Family Farms and Large Estates,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 71, No. 5, March, 1956, pp. 404ff.

* * Four pattern variables as used by Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

Action and norm types used by Max Weber, Howard Becker, and others. At one stage of the development of the pattern variables used by Parsons.

More blanket types developed by Pitirim A. Sorokin. See *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. 3, (New York: American Book Company, 1937), pp. 47ff.

* Howard Becker’s Constructed Types. See “Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development,” Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, eds., *Modern Sociological Theory*, (New York: Dryden Press, 1957).

Redfield expressed the relation as follows: ". . . the peasant village as compared with the tribal village . . . or the city as compared with the town is less isolated; is more heterogeneous; is characterized by a more complex division of labor . . ." ¹⁵

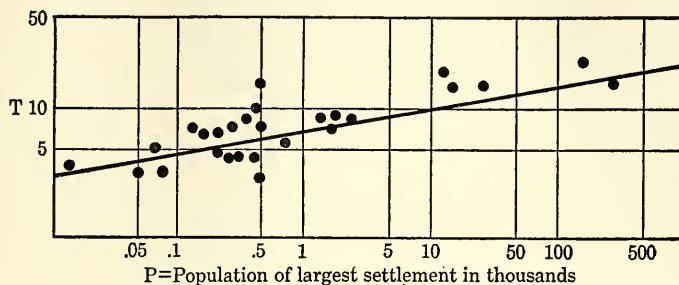


FIGURE 3

POPULATION OF LARGEST SETTLEMENT AND NUMBER OF TYPES OF WORK TEAM IN 24 NON-INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES.*

* Adapted from Raoul Naroll, *American Anthropologist*, op. cit., p. 701, Logarithmic grid. Population in thousands. Types of work team include kinship, territorial, and associational (a residual category) teams.

BUREAUCRACY AND LEVELS OF LIVING

A high level of living has never been attained by a society without some division of labor and the introduction of such formal organizations as bureaucracies which concentrate the "center activities," and are involved in processing, distributing, and co-ordinating the "field activities." ¹⁶ The field activities are the production of foods, fibers, ores, and raw materials and are usually carried on by small units scattered over the countryside. "A nation can be wealthy only if few of its resources are required to produce food for subsistence." ¹⁷ The productive groupings in underdeveloped, nonindustrialized, and nonurbanized societies are concerned with field activities not the least of which is the production of food; social relations tend to be *Gemeinschaft*-like, often based on kinship which combined with neighborliness may be their central organizational feature. As the society industrializes, larger bureaucracies must be introduced; eventually they substantially replace the small family or craft-oriented, productive work groupings. The changes involved in the introduction of such

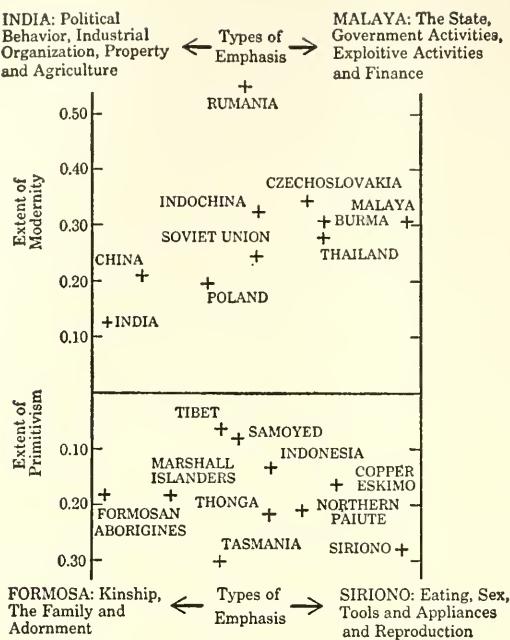


FIGURE 4

CULTURES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO EXTENTS AND SORTS OF EMPHASSES ON PRIMITIVE AND MODERN ACTIVITIES.*

* The indices of "Primitivism" and "Modernity" (vertical lines above) suggest the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* continuum. Horizontally plotted "types of emphasis" in their concentrated forms (corner clusters) suggest in some respects pattern differentiation as discussed in Essay 1. Figure 4 from Rose and Willoughby, *American Journal of Sociology*, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

bureaucracies account for most of the phenomena to be analyzed in this essay.

Modern bureaucracies do not emerge as fully developed entities at the initial steps of industrialization. Intermediate stages between the simplest work group and the bureaucracy include differentiated work teams, variation in occupational specialties, and size and number of work teams determined by the maximally efficient use of labor and other resources. Wilbert E. Moore suggests the term "rational work organizations" to designate all such differentiated work teams which pursue their work goals in a rational rather than traditional division of labor and to this latter may be added the function of size as well as a related dimension,

intensity of interaction, which latter constitutes in essence what the Wilsons designate as "scale."¹⁸ These are related devices pointing to the intermediate stages between the simplest work team and a full-blown bureaucracy. The nonindustrialized societies depicted in Figure 3 show an increasing occurrence of the rational work organization, a broadening of scale, and would presumably also show an increasing number of bureaucratic traits as size of community increases.

In addition to the size and specialization of the work team, preliminary investigations show that the initial steps toward industrialization may be marked by an increasing complexity and development of forms of punishment, government, education, religion, economy, and language.

Since these qualities are all subsumable under folk urbanism, *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, and the other polar constructs of that order, the conclusion is that Redfield, Toennies, *et al.* have indeed been describing a unidimensional phenomenon—societal complexity . . . Thus we might hypothesize that as a society of the least complex type became complex, it would first adopt a money economy, then a formal legal system, full-time priests, educators, and government bureaucrats in that order, and, finally, a written language.¹⁹

A study which is pertinent here was based in part on an arrangement of some six dozen cultural factors under four general classifications: "the productive arts . . . the regulative arts . . . the personal expressive arts . . . and the institutional expressive arts."²⁰ Figure 4 expresses in terms of the extremes among twenty societies analyzed the "primitive" (or *Gemeinschaft*-like) societies with their preoccupation with the "expressive arts" shown at the bottoms of the two vertical axes, the increasing degree of "modernization" as the axes are ascended, and the "modern" (or *Gesellschaft*-like) societies with their "narrow range of cultural interests limited in our profile to the productive and regulative arts at the tops of the vertical axes."²⁰ Incidentally, this same study demonstrates that two societies that are "modern" by virtue of their relatively high level of concern with production and regulation, can nevertheless differ greatly from each other by emphasizing different clusters of "culture traits." Similarly, two societies that are "primitive" by virtue of their relatively high level of concern

with the expressive arts can vary because of different emphases. The authors of the study from which Figure 4 is taken acknowledge that, "The developmental distinctions among cultures examined here bring to mind both Sir Henry Maine's status-to-contract summary of civilization and Toennies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* principle."²¹ This study describes yet another model that handles the differentiation of social systems in a manner consistent with the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* theme. Its obvious misplacements of social systems—notably that of the Soviet Union—on the scale of modernity can be attributed, of course, to the recency and the comprehensiveness of the material which yielded the culture items used in plotting locations. A prerequisite for an absolute comparison of the twenty societies would be equally comprehensive, equally current, factual data.

The studies of Narroll, Freeman and Winch, Rose and Wiloughby, and others demonstrate the general Spencerian theme that was once captioned as evolution and still survives, albeit with refinements and revisions. Modern sociologists and anthropologists, such as Steward, demonstrate the error of the theory of "unilinear" evolutionary change. At the same time they recognize "some similarities in form, function, and developmental processes in certain cultures of different traditions."²² It is these reoccurring similarities (not necessarily identities) of pattern as well as the unique patterns which can be charted with some precision by the application of the Processually Articulated Structural Model to a variety of on-going social systems. The varieties and similarities of the patterns thus described can be classified with some accuracy through the arrangement of their attributes on the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* scale. Figure 2. Certain constellations—division of labor, urbanization, and mobility, for example—occur with a high degree of regularity as societies of the same or different tradition change to a more *Gesellschaft*-like form.

The social organization of the work team is, of course, reflected in the community.

The economic institution provides the means of livelihood for most members of the community: the physical structure of the community tends to be laid down according to the economic requirements of industry and indeed, patterns of social life and thought are strongly influenced by the character of the economic institution.²³

It now remains to examine some of the work organization social systems representative of the Gemeinschaft and of the Gesellschaft and to analyze them in terms of the elements and processes as developed in the preceding essay.

ELEMENTS AND PROCESSES OF OCCUPATIONAL, COMMUNITY, AND SOCIETAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

KNOWING

Knowledge in the Gemeinschaft-like society and its sub-systems tends to be traditional; in the Gesellschaft-like society and its sub-systems, knowledge is rational (Figure 2). It is increasingly evident that efficiency in the creation and utilization of knowledge is crucial for the adaptation of social systems to the conditions of the modern world.

Belief (knowledge) as an element. The traditional beliefs and knowledge of Gemeinschaft-like societies throughout the world tend to be varied from system to system, to be undifferentiated within any one system, and to be relatively static for all systems. The beliefs of an African agricultural tribe about how to plant grain or husband live stock are different than those held by a Pueblo Indian tribe. Knowledge of the total production process is held by a large number of members of the social system and the knowledge held by each member closely resembles the knowledge held by all other members. In the simplest societies only the primary tool is known and little knowledge exists concerning forms of energy other than human energy. Because the chief source of knowledge is tradition, beliefs and knowledge tend to be static. Little is added to the fund of knowledge, and that which does accumulate does so very slowly. Knowledge about other members of the social system is great. The work team is a family or tribe members often of the same age or sex. Capabilities and personality variations of members are known intimately and are accounted for in the interaction patterns.

For social systems whose members exercise a minimal control over the environment and whose level of living is resultantly near the subsistence level, a very minute increase in technical knowledge multiplies the returns from work many fold. The replace-

ment of the foot-plow by an animal drawn plough-share can increase production tremendously. The replacement of the human porter by beasts of burden has a similar effect. With increasing differentiation and increasing technological knowledge, less intimate and complete knowledge of the capabilities and personalities of fellow members of work teams seems to prevail.

The rational beliefs and knowledge of the *Gesellschaft*-like society and its sub-systems tends to be standardized from system to system, to be highly differentiated within any one system, and to be dynamic for all systems. The knowledge concerning the manufacture of steel is alike in Luxemburg or in Pittsburgh, but knowledge of the total production system is held by no one member of a social system. The knowledge and skill of each member resembles that held by relatively few other members. Knowledge of primary, secondary, and tertiary tools is extensive, each new bit of knowledge inevitably leading to ever more knowledge. Awareness of forms of energy other than human energy is extensive. Knowledge of other members of the social system tends to be comparatively limited.

For social systems whose members exercise great control over the environment the proliferation of knowledge is faster than its use. The system generally is not changed in the adaptation of knowledge as fast as the fund of knowledge is increased.

Cognitive mapping and validation as a process. The *Gemeinschaft*-like society validates knowledge by tradition and thus denies the processes of questioning, criticizing, attacking, and substituting. Such a society generally displays an exceedingly high degree of normative integration often symbolized by tools, crops, and animals. It is, therefore, poorly equipped to absorb a new item of knowledge, a technological item, for example, since the change entailed would necessarily be imposed not only on the directly affected technological process, but on all other systemic elements and processes as well. The denial of any validating process save that of tradition becomes a guarantee against systemic disintegration.

The *Gesellschaft*-like society validates knowledge by rational, empirical testing according to the universalistic canons of science. Rational validation requires questioning, criticizing, attacking, and substituting. In its proliferation of specialties, members of

the *Gesellschaft*-like social system recognize the scientist whose specialty is rational validation. Such a society displays a relatively lower degree of normative integration than does the *Gemeinschaft*-like collectivity, and what integration exists is less dependent on or symbolized by tools, crops, and animals in use at a given time. The absorption of a new item of knowledge, although it involves dislocations, does not have the disintegrating effect upon the social system which is likely to occur in the *Gemeinschaft*-like society. Institutional means are devised to act as shock-absorbers during the period of change resulting from knowledge absorption, but institutionalization does not keep pace with the introduction of validated items of knowledge.

In *Gesellschaft*-like societies there emerges a community that is literate, heterogeneous, and rational with a system of beliefs that is rapidly evolving and changing and is shot through with sub-belief systems not necessarily harmonious with the whole societal belief system. Although critical analysis is invited by the rationality component it would be a mistake to suppose that the hold of tradition (*Gemeinschaft*) has been totally removed in the rational (*Gesellschaft*) world. Whitehead tells, as an example of this, of the highly skilled mechanic in a *Gesellschaft*-like society whose knowledge and skill are based upon a "traditional set of methods, or sequences of operations . . . [which] have been practiced a thousand times." He would spurn any suggestion that there is another or better method, but finally, one day he introduces an improvement of his own.

The fact is that our mechanic . . . is thinking for himself . . . in the continual practice of his art, he was learning to notice the connection, the causal relations, between the various operations involved . . . But explicit logical skill in itself will result in nothing more than sporadic bursts of change, arising directly from a contemplation of the current procedures. The final step which mankind has so far achieved is deliberately to organize logical thinking in such a way as to lead to a stream of improvements. Broadly speaking, what has been evolved is a direction of the thinking processes toward a continual evolution of better and better technological procedures.²⁴

The direction of the thinking, as Whitehead points out, is probably the crux of the difference between the belief systems about work which cluster around each polar type.

FEELING

Sentiment as an element. As Figure 2 shows, sentiment and its expression are characteristic of the Gemeinschaft whereas affective neutrality characterizes the Gesellschaft. Both the positive or associative sentiments—such as love, affection, and sympathy—and the negative or dissociative sentiments—such as hate, disaffection, and aversion—are more common and more intensely expressed in Gemeinschaft-like than in Gesellschaft-like relations. The Gemeinschaft society, permeated as it is with activities done on a family basis, has the strong sentiment of family saturating all life activities. Work teams composed of kin and friend are naturally very much more affective than the Gesellschaft-like work team composed of people who have never seen each other before. Just as love and sympathy in the Gemeinschaft-like system can become intense and pervasive through prolonged associations, so enmity can lead to the most bitter hostilities. In the Gesellschaft-like society it may be easy to avoid one with whom one cannot get along, but in the Gemeinschaft-like system this is very difficult. To the extent that sentiment results from frustration due to the rapidity of change and the lack of predictability of the relations, the members of the Gesellschaft-like social system are subjected to comparatively greater stress than are members of Gemeinschaft-like systems.

Tension management and communication of sentiment as process. Societies of both polar types have mechanisms that protect the system from the disintegration potential in uncontrolled affective relations among its members. A common mechanism in Gemeinschaft-like societies appears in the normative controls on who may intermarry. In general, those marriages are forbidden and considered incestuous that would force either of the mates to bear loyalty and other sentiments in a manner disrupting to authority.²⁵ The complicated provisions of who may marry whom in tribal and peasant societies is no whim. It is a provisional guarantee that the solidary, strongly integrated family work team, without which there could be no economic stability, is not split asunder by conflicting loves and loyalties. This pattern can be recognized as external, possessing both ends and power. External

also is the pattern by which unmitigated affective relations within the *Gemeinschaft*-like work team is further held in check by disciplines imposed by the work team leader, generally the father. Withal his love for his family, he must see that the work is done on schedule. The patriarchal father figure, who commands respect and obedience, and the mother, who is accorded love, have significance for tension management as do other similar divisions of function built into the status-roles. There is evidence to support the hypothesis that in societies which require status-roles such as father or grandfather to be task and authority leaders the incumbents of these status-roles are less intimately and affectively related to subordinates than are other incumbents in similarly designated status-roles in societies in which the status-roles, other things being equal, do not have the task and authority components.²⁶

The more complicated *Gesellschaft*-like organization has numerous mechanisms by which the emotions and affective relations of its members are controlled in the interests of the social system. The external interaction pattern of *affective neutrality* underlies most of the tension management devices. For a bureaucracy to function effectively standards of competence must be universally applied and must govern hiring, promotion, and firing. Authority must be vested in certain status-roles and must be wielded in a universalistic manner by the incumbent of the status-role. The subordinates must recognize without question the hierarchical echelons. Affectivity might allow incompetents to be hired, favorites to be promoted, competents to be fired, insubordinates to stall or change the work pattern, and so on. Although workers may dislike the "cold" factory and critics may decry the "soulless" corporation, it is very possible that none would like the unpredictability which would prevail in an industrial plant run on the basis of affectivity in functionally diffuse relations. As Merton remarks:

The substitution of personal for impersonal treatment within the structure (of a bureaucracy) is met with widespread disapproval and is characterized by such epithets as graft, favoritism, nepotism, apple-polishing, etc. These epithets are clearly manifestations of injured sentiments. The function of such virtually automatic resentment can be clearly seen in terms of the requirements of bureaucratic structure.²⁷

Members of the *Gemeinschaft*-like system are likely to know each other well; their relationships are *functionally diffuse* in that most of the facets of human personality are revealed in the prolonged and intimate associations common to such systems. The bureaucratic work team or rational work organization on the other hand is peopled with members who know each other in almost segmented ways. Their relations are *functionally specific* in that the workers reveal to each other on the job only a small part of their total beings. *Functional specificity* as a tension-management device can be regarded as an adjunct to affective neutrality. It may not be too difficult, for example, to deny a promotion to a person about whom nothing more is known than that he is a mediocre worker. Facts about his personal disappointments, domestic needs, and aspirations—which would, of course, be known in a functionally diffuse relation—would load with tension the rational action of promotion denial.

Disruptive emotions would no doubt be present in a bureaucracy were it in truth emotionally sterile. A large number of social scientists supply evidence that there is considerable affective involvement on the job in a bureaucracy.²⁸ An internal interaction pattern with warm friendships develops among individuals in work teams, and workers harbor positive or negative sentiments concerning their identity with the organization. Parsons and Smelser see the labor unions functioning not only as economic safe-guards for the worker but also as “symbolizing his anxieties and other sentiments and reinforcing his self-respect and confidence.”²⁹ Affective neutrality is nevertheless reinforced by such bureaucratic devices as separating clique members and providing “management” cafeterias and “executive” elevators in order that affective involvement arising from friendly intercourse not threaten the rational pursuits of the organization.³⁰

The relation of the community member to the community in the city cannot be as all-enveloping as it is in the peasant village, although family and friendship groups and other contacts in cities of all types provide *Gemeinschaft*-like sentiments for their dwellers.

If the unceasing external contact of numbers of persons in the city should be met by the same number of inner relations as in the small

town, in which one knows almost every person he meets and to each of whom he has a positive relationship, one would be completely atomized internally and would fall into an unthinkable condition.³¹

The city dweller is protected from the necessity of affective interaction with an impossible number of people. The norms permit the members of the social system to remain socially distant under conditions of close physical proximity. The necessity for social exchange is decreased by such devices as the uniform which disguises the personality of the functionary. Occasional insufficient emotional outlets for the city dwellers' affective needs may help explain his emotional absorption in the activities of local, paid, professional ball teams composed of men from other communities, or the avidity with which he reads the city newspaper, a habit which has been explained as a substitute gratification for the absence of social contacts.³² His counterpart in the ideal *Gemeinschaft*-like social system would have little use for a newspaper since he would hear any news within his scope of interest rapidly and efficiently through his net-work of personal inter-relations.

ACHIEVING

End, goal, or objective as an element. The ends of the work team as a social system are adapted to the given environment from which its members must wrest survival. The distinguishing characteristic of the work system in the *Gemeinschaft*-like society is its functional diffuseness. In the *Gemeinschaft*-like society the child is early socialized into a life which knows no sharp demarcation between work, rest, play, quiet sociability, and festivity. Was David of Old Testament fame working, playing, "improving" himself, or just growing up as he watched the flocks, played his harp, and contemplated the universe around him? In a very real sense work is life and life is work in *Gemeinschaft*-like society. The lack of specificity and the breadth of the work-system goal explains the interspersion of purely utilitarian goals with expressive goals (Figure 4), a common characteristic of the *Gemeinschaft*-like society. An additional expressive inducement and opportunity is given to the actors of the *Gemeinschaft*-like work team by virtue of their being consumers of their own produce.

The wool, clipped, carded, dyed and woven to clothe the bodies of the family which raises the sheep represents a much broader objective and one which affords greater opportunity as well as inducement for self-expression than does the "piecework" of a laborer in a modern textile plant.

The ends of the *Gesellschaft*-like work team are similarly to wrest survival from the environment, but early in life the child is socialized to expect a work goal clearly separated from other goals. The goal of the *Gesellschaft*-like work team is functionally specific; the goal is clearly and unreservedly the fulfillment of that little segment of work which is the work group's specialty. Even for those teams whose work segments are broader than others to be found in a *Gesellschaft*-like society—the coordination of various work segments, for example—the total work goal is still specific and segmented. The specificity of the goal in large part makes the goal attaining activity instrumental rather than expressive. Work is applied as an instrument toward an objective not immediately represented by the product. In the capitalistic system the objective is money. Although the goal of the *Gesellschaft*-like work team is overwhelmingly functionally specific and instrumental, there are some few characteristics of the functionally diffuse and expressive goal also. Although the choice of job for a great bulk of workers is somewhat fortuitous, workers do choose jobs on the basis of their own predilections and perform them in a manner which is sometimes expressive of themselves. Even jobs which give little or no opportunity for self-expression afford the worker in the *Gesellschaft* world a chance for meaningful personal contacts. The prospect of losing these social relations reduces the inducements of retirement for a great many workers. "It is through the producing role that most men tie into society, and for this reason and others, most men find the producing role important for maintaining their sense of well-being."³³

The ends of the community social system are parallel with those of the sub-systems which comprise it, but are not identical with them or their total. Sometimes it is at the community level that the opposing ends of the various sub-systems are tempered so as to be compatible with "the common good." That amorphous social system, "the community," has as its objective the daily definition and re-definition of the "common good" and, in a loose

sense, its objective too is the compliance of the activities of its sub-system parts with the always emerging definition of greatest community weal of the collective whole. To the extent that the actors of the social system make it a "community of fate," community ends pervade all other elements, thus making the community and the relations of which it is composed an end in itself. To this extent too, a *Gemeinschaft*-like social system may be said to exist.

"Common good" is relatively easy to define in times of crises such as in war-time and in disaster. Common goals are provided by the crisis with correspondingly less strife between the competing sub-systems of the community. An interesting reflection of the integrating force of the decisively common goal is in the suicide rates which generally decrease markedly in a time of crisis.³⁴ Most forms of suicide increase as societies differentiate, organize bureaucracies, and become more *Gesellschaft*-like.³⁵

Goal attaining and concomitant "latent" activity as process. The goal of the *Gemeinschaft*-like work team is striven for by a traditional complex of family and/or tribe activity. Because of the high degree of normative integration³⁶ almost any group activity can be said to be goal-directed in a *Gemeinschaft*-like society. The work team which always begins its plantings in the fields with a blessing of the seed³⁷ sees the ritual to be intrinsically linked to the goal of a successful crop. To the outside observer the ritual may perform the "latent" function of integrating the group and making its beliefs, sentiments, and activities cohesive; but the direct connection with the subsequent crop may not seem clear. So too, with festivals, play, art crafts, religious rites, and other activities; they may serve a purpose in goal attaining from the actors' point of view at the same time that they serve a "latent" integrative function. Both in the *Gemeinschaft*-like and the *Gesellschaft*-like societies, non-goal directed activity may be functional in that it maintains group solidarity which is necessary for efficient work production; it may be dysfunctional, as for example when group solidarity and consideration for individual members becomes more important than the work goal; or it may be a-functional, neither helping nor impeding the fulfillment of the work goal.³⁸

The goal of the *Gesellschaft*-like work team is striven for by a

large number of work teams each of which has a specific job to do. Production becomes increasingly precise, increasingly efficient by such goal-directed techniques as the efficiency expert, the assembly line, the automated plant, the job quotas, the time and motion studies, and the progress reports. Nonetheless expressive activities are also engaged in by the *Gesellschaft*-like work team. Some of these tend to become routinized and institutionalized insofar as they are a part of the external system; examples are "the office party," "the department picnic" and other such planned affairs. Many activities of the rational *Gesellschaft*-like system seem on the surface to be non-instrumental, but appear to be in fact goal-attaining activities just as surely as those performed on the assembly line. The float in the parade, the "grand opening" of a new branch, the services of personnel counsellors have superficial appearances of morally expressive, non-utilitarian activity whereas in reality each such enterprise usually has very instrumental goals. The donation of uniforms to the high school band, or blood bank collections on company time may be more functionally diffuse than the activity which occurs on the assembly line, but they are instrumental to the extent that they may be bids for public "good-will," the kind of favorable disposition toward an organization which a bureaucracy is willing to buy. No one can say whether such activities are goal attaining or concomitant unless the true intent and purpose of the activity is known. Even the controversial "coffee break" has lost the spontaneity it once held. Ostensibly to rest and refresh the workers, it can under some circumstances perform the function of increasing integration and "lubricating" the communication flow. Under other circumstances it can be dysfunctional by wasting too much time from the job, by fostering cliques hostile to the external pattern or other aspects of the organization, and other possible effects. The work team of the *Gesellschaft*-like society on occasion engages in spontaneous expressive activity; it is only upon such occasions that the *Gesellschaft*-like work team can be said to have an internal interaction pattern.

Although "Bureaucracy is by far the most efficient known method of organization of large numbers of persons for the performance of complicated tasks of administration, and its spread is to a considerable extent accounted for by this sheer superior

efficiency"³⁹ paradoxically, it is noted for its inefficiency too. "Red tape," which is invariably connected in the popular mind with the bureaucracy, means many things to different men but it always connotes inefficiency.⁴⁰ All of the vectors in Figure 2 which together comprise the *Gesellschaft* pole can be logically related to the phenomenon of "red tape," but here only universalism and specificity as norms governing goal attaining activity will be briefly considered. The concern of bureaucracy with giving identical treatment to those in identical situations, the crux of universalism, rests upon the adequate establishment and categorization of the near-identical situations; that is, spelling out the details of application of general universal principles. There would seem to be no way of establishing the similarity or dissimilarity of widows' eligibility for relief, of applicants to a select university, of the soundness of prospective borrowers' credit ratings, of the tax-payers' right to a tax refund, without elaborate and probing questions to establish that similarity. Many observers have called red-tape dysfunctional for the bureaucratic system, but none have indicated that particularism in the bureaucracy would be less dysfunctional, although it is the only alternative for red-tape of this type.

On a community scale much the same kind of polarization takes place as is true for the work teams. In the United States the country square-dance, the quilting parties, the barn raisings, the Fourth of July orations, and the Memorial Day parades are all reminiscent of the epoch in which school districts were laid out, county courthouses built, state constitutions and city charters drawn, public libraries established, and a wild unsettled land tamed and settled. To the extent that expressive and other non-instrumental activity was intermingled with and dominated goal attaining activity the *Gemeinschaft* had primacy. It is of course unrealistic to assume that there is no expressive activity in *Gesellschaft*-like communities. As in the case of the business bureaucracy, generally expressive activity in the *Gesellschaft*-like community usually bears the unmistakable imprint of the market. Communities celebrate their centennials in the form of giant public spectacles bought from an "entertainment house" in the closest big city. Music is purchased from the musicians' union, costumes are rented from the theatrical guild, fireworks are solicited from

the leading businesses of the town, admissions to the celebration are paid by the towns-people whose "expressive activity" it is supposed to be.

There are gaps in the knowledge about the relative amount of activity which actors mistakenly believe is goal directed; there are confusions about what, in some instances, comprises instrumental and non-instrumental activity. Despite these limitations, and until further research is done to dispel these confusions, the following hypotheses are offered: In work teams, other things being equal, the greater the emphasis upon efficiency in the use of energy and facilities, the less the dysfunctional and non-functional activity there will be in goal attainment. The less predictable the result for a given activity, the greater will be the amount of ritual and other non-rational activity not intrinsically related to goal attainment. The greater the emphasis upon efficiency the less the time devoted to expressive and evaluative activities for purposes of tension management and integration (boundary maintenance).

NORMING, STANDARDIZING, AND PATTERNING

Norm as an element. Many of the social phenomena already examined in this essay have normative aspects. A holistic summation of the norms regulating the activities of the two polar types was given by Durkheim who recognized in the Gemeinschaft-like community or work team a condition he called "*mechanical solidarity*," anchored in stable consensus, and reflecting above all *likenesses* among its members making inevitable a *conscience collective* in which control is maintained through *repressive norms*. In the Gesellschaft-like community or work team he recognized "*organic solidarity*," anchored in agreed-upon rules, and reflecting above all *dissimilarities* among its members inevitably requiring a *contractual solidarity* in which control is maintained through the *laws of retribution*.⁴¹

The difference in the moral norms of Gemeinschaft-like societies and Gesellschaft-like societies is demonstrated as individuals migrate from the one to the other without forming separate communities in their new places of residence. Thus the migrants from the rural sections to the urban centers, released from the *collective conscience* restraints of the folk society were among those with relatively high probability of becoming suicide victims

apparently demonstrating the difficulty of adjustment to the differently enforced norms of the city.⁴² Southern Negroes, whose behavior tended to be standardized by the stable consensus of a simple folk culture, have upon northern migration and attendant exposure to rational, contractual norms, often become "a class of roving Negroes who will live a lawless sex and quasi-family life."⁴³ In most instances the migrants, accustomed to the *Gemeinschaft*-like norms, come into a situation where:

External control through a series of formal institutions such as law, and organizations such as the courts, and police . . . become more essential . . . [U]rbanites generally must permit a wider range of behavior than rural dwellers [and] this fact often gives to city life an appearance of lawlessness.⁴⁴

As the division of labor accentuates the dissimilarities noted by Durkheim among the actors and their activities, norms which compel integration must be introduced into *Gesellschaft*-like organizations.

The punctuality, the steady and continuous effort often many steps removed from the visible product, and the alternation of work and rest with reference to the clock rather than the task, all required by the factory system of production, are at marked variance with the organization of tasks in primitive and peasant life.⁴⁵

"The clock and the traffic signal are symbolic of the basis of our social order in the urban world"⁴⁶ in sharp contrast to the norms of the *mañana configuration* typical of the *Gemeinschaft*-like Latin America in which "*hora español*" means arriving as other *Gemeinschaft*-like commitments and factors permit. Systems characterized by instrumental actions in the first instance and by expressive action in the second are thus illustrated. The behavior ascribed by Merton to the typical bureaucrat who should be "methodical, prudent, and disciplined"⁴⁷ may very well be taken to be a key to acceptable behavior in the *Gesellschaft*-like community and production unit.

Since raising the level of living of underdeveloped areas requires that important segments of life be bureaucratized or made more *Gesellschaft*-like, it is appropriate to turn to the consideration of evaluation, the process which is most important in the

differentiation of social systems on the various vectors of *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft continua* as sketched on Figure 2.

Evaluation as a process. Like the processes explored above, evaluation is conditioned by the pertinent membership and reference groups in both polar types of societies. The sub-systems based upon kinship, locality and craft provide the *Gemeinschaft*-like society with norms for evaluation. In the *Gesellschaft*-like societies occupation, profession, family, clique, and nation referents are important molders of evaluative standards. In the totalitarian *Gesellschaft*-like societies, such as Russia and China the political party and its sub-systems must be given a high priority.

Strikingly different modes of evaluating money, work, and social activity have been reported as prevailing in societies representative of the polar types. Observers from industrialized societies, for example, have been impressed by the unwillingness of peasants to sell their wares as they are enroute to market even though the price offered is more than the peasant knows he will get at the market still many hours distant over footpaths. The ineffectiveness of wage incentives was reported by Weber: "It was futile to double the wages of an agricultural laborer in Silesia who mowed a certain tract of land on a contract. . . . He would simply have reduced by half the work expended. . . ." ⁴⁸ Banfield describes a community in southern Italy, the citizens of which are "prisoners of their family-centered ethos" in a state of "amoral familism." ⁴⁹ Unwillingness to accept other than traditional standards or to sacrifice for any system beyond the family has meant a continuation of misery, poverty, disease, and stagnation in the backyard, so to speak, of modern industrialism.⁵⁰

The sub-types of Figure 2 show the characteristics which will tend to govern the evaluative process, but each system must be examined separately to discover the specifics which are given a high or low evaluation within that particular system. For example, a high evaluation placed upon universalism, affective neutrality, functional specificity, instrumental processes and activities, achievement, rationality, and contractual relations would be expected and actually are found in both the *Gesellschaft*-like United States and in the *Gesellschaft*-like U.S.S.R. In the United States, however, items such as private property and individual rights are

highly evaluated and almost sacred; in the U.S.S.R. they are negatively evaluated and communal property and state rights are held in high esteem. Normative standards and the evaluative processes by which they are articulated thus become the most differentiating element-process combination among social systems which are roughly identical as to polar type. What appears in Figure 4 as "types of emphasis" differentiating the several *Gemeinschaft*-like social systems from each other and the several *Gesellschaft*-like social systems from each other are in all probability the different net results of the evaluative process and the resultantly different normative standards which have been adopted by actors of the social systems involved.⁵¹

Social scientists accept the responsibility for ascertaining why some social entities do not change while others do, and why those that do change do so in a given direction.⁵² Moore states the following thesis: "The theory of acculturation, that is, of cultural diffusion and resultant change, indicates that an innovation is most acceptable if in both form and degree it represents only a small departure from customary standards and practices."⁵³ If Moore's thesis is correct, both the United States and the U.S.S.R. achieved their present form of social organization by evaluative choices reminiscent of the social systems from which they sprang, a supposition which would seem to be borne out by recollections of seventeenth and eighteenth century England and of Czarist Russia.

Of feudal and peasant societies such as those of Japan, Russia, and China, which have undergone changes from *Gemeinschaft*-like to *Gesellschaft*-like relations within the life time of those now living, Japan may be singled out for illustrative purposes. The rapid industrialization of Japan and the remarkable adjustment of the Japanese to industrialized and urbanized societies have been accounted for by the ease with which systemic linkage of the Japanese family to the larger system was accomplished. This linkage is reported to be particularly simple because of the convergence of certain ends and norms,⁵⁴ a factor presumably resulting from the evaluative process placing emphasis on similar items. In addition to the evaluative process *per se* which led to Japan's rapid industrialization, Parsons suggests that the role of the nation as a controlling system was decisive as compared with India and China,

where the governmental bureaucracy "remained a 'superstructure.' It did not penetrate in its administrative functions directly to the individual but, rather, stopped at the caste, village and other groups, leaving them essentially intact with a large degree of self-government."⁵⁵ The relative readiness of Japan to select a type of social system based upon *Gesellschaft*-like relations would seem thus to satisfy the conditions of change specified by Moore, that "in both form and degree it represents only a small departure from customary standards and practices."⁵⁶

Social systems differ not only by what items are negatively valued and what positively valued. The intensity and durability of the evaluation also varies. Howard Becker in his constructed types "the sacred" and "the secular" (roughly approximating the constructed *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* types used herein) contributes significantly to the understanding of the sacredness in the traditional society of all forms of activity and the resultant fixation of habit.⁵⁷ The accessibility of the secular society and its resultant fluidity and rapidity of change is, of course, the opposite polar type. Becker's various sub-types are distinguished from each other by, among other factors, the extremity or intensity with which certain evaluations are held sacred. In the *Gesellschaft*-like social system there will, of course, be less ritual and ceremony and perhaps fewer sacred facilities, but as long as the system remains a system and not confused disorganization, there will be some evaluations judged sacred.

Using Becker's sacred-secular continuum (Figure 2) Bellah has demonstrated that the industrialization of prescriptive societies, such as pre-modernized Japan and Turkey, involved a differentiation in religion and ideology. The prescriptive type of society is characterized by the "comprehensiveness and specificity of its value commitments and by its consequent lack of flexibility. Motivation is frozen . . . through commitment to a vast range of relatively specific norms governing almost every situation in life . . . [with] specific norms, usually including those governing social institutions . . . thoroughly integrated with a religious system."⁵⁸ In both Japan and Turkey the change from a prescriptive to a principal type society brought flexibility in economic, political and social life. In the principal type "ultimate or religious values lay down the basic principles of social action . . . but the religious

system does not attempt to regulate economic, political and social life in great detail, as in prescriptive societies.”⁵⁹ Societies such as Communist China and Russia which industrialize while remaining prescriptive lack the flexibility of the principal societies. Communism as a secular political ideology which is religiously based, according to Bellah, not only faces serious political and economic problems but an “even more serious cultural problem, the problem of the differentiation of the religious and ideological levels.”⁶⁰ It is important to note that “the function of religion in a principal society is different from that in a prescriptive society, but it is not necessarily less important.”⁶¹ It may provide the means for legitimizing change.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Status-role as both element and process. The child born in San Juan Sur in Costa Rica (or in any part of the underdeveloped areas where two-thirds of the world's people live) can look forward to filling very few status-roles outside the family. Typically, he will follow an agricultural pursuit on a family-sized farm. His team mates will be the other members of his family. During the seasons of heavy work on near-by large-scale farming enterprises, he may pick coffee beans or cut sugar cane but these brief weeks will be as specialized as his status-role as a farmer is very likely to become. For on the family-sized farm he does a part of everything that there is to be done. He plants, he tends the crops, he reaps the harvest, he keeps his tools in repair, and constructs the oxcarts and yokes. He re-canies the roofing on the family house, cuts the firewood, milks the cows, feeds the stock, fights the insects. He does these things at the same time that he performs his family status-roles of son and brother. He is the family transport system as he carries produce to market and the dealer as he sells his eggs and buys salt or flour. His status-role is *diffuse*. Neither the nature of his tasks nor the time allotted to do them is specified. Furthermore, his status-roles are *traditional*. He does what he does because this is the way of life. Changes may have occurred in status-role possibilities since the days when his Conquistador forebears settled down and became farmers, but not many. How slow is that rate of change is indicated by this obser-

vation about an underdeveloped country in another part of the world:

W. H. R. Rivers, an anthropologist, wrote about the life of the Todas, a tribe in India, in 1906. His description was strikingly like the account that a Portuguese traveler had written 300 years earlier. The life of the Todas had changed very little during this long period of time.⁶²

The little San Juan Sur boy would probably find quite meaningless a little primary-grade book entitled "What Will You Be When You Grow Up?". The same little book is full of meaning to the boy born in El Paso, Texas or Lansing, Michigan. He knows from the time that his parents read stories to him that some day he must make up his mind about "what he's going to be." Like most small boys, he probably has decided at one time or another to be a cowboy, or a jet pilot, or a railroad engineer. But as adulthood approaches he is likely to forego this earlier decision in light of the 20,000 different occupational designations available to him. His decision, of course, will be affected by many factors: his intelligence, his personal aptitudes, his adult models, and his opportunities. His possible routes to an occupational role are too varied and devious to be explored here. But his decision along with those of millions of others like him are reflected in the composite status-role picture of any industrial nation. Figure 5 shows the pyramid of occupational categories in the United States.

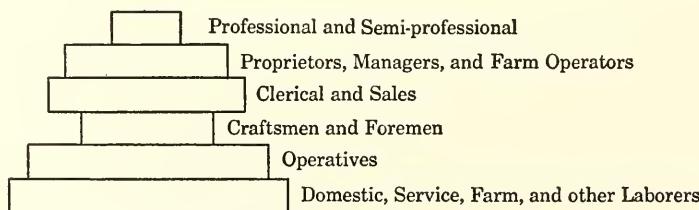


FIGURE 5

RELATIVE SIZE OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN THE UNITED STATES.*

* Source: Ronald Freeman et al., *Principles of Sociology: A Text with Readings* (rev. ed., New York: Henry Holt and Company, c1956), p. 401.

The base of the pyramid is comprised of the proportion in the occupational force who are unskilled. Increasingly smaller layers of semi-skilled and highly skilled workers appear above this base.

These are the three occupational groups responsible for the processing of the products as they flow in from the fields, forests, and mines of the countryside. The fourth layer of workers are those engaged in clerical and sales work. They are the distributors. Their existence in such large numbers in the industrial society is one of the chief differences in status-role pattern in industrialized as compared with the underdeveloped or partially developed country. Their necessity in the highly specialized society is related to the increasing tendency in such a society to reduce to a minimum home production of the necessities of life and—a greater factor—the endless proliferation of specialty products. The fifth layer is, to a large extent, the status-roles necessary to make the whole production and distribution system mesh. These are the people responsible for seeing that the right amounts of raw materials reach the production plants at the right time; who choose plant sites with an eye to cheap transportation, ample labor force, accessible markets; who negotiate contracts with users of their products and see that the deadline is met. The impressive growth of management has been called the “managerial revolution.” The task it performs has been called “functional integration.”⁶³ The smallest category of status-roles is that occupied by the professionals and semi-professionals; it is nevertheless proportionately a great deal larger than would be a similar classification in an underdeveloped country. With increased automation in industry it is predicted that this category may increase even more with an accompanying decrease in the skilled worker category. The professions, in general, contribute to the total society through the production phase as in the engineering of new products; through the regulatory phase, as in legal controls or in health and welfare; and through the socializing and expressive phase, as in education or the arts.

Change is rapid in the *Gesellschaft*-like occupational world. Old status-roles pass out of existence (where, for example, is the lamp-lighter or the harness maker of yesteryear?) and new status-roles are created. As machines replace man-power for an increasing number of jobs, there is a continuous realignment of numbers of status-roles open to incumbents in a given category. Table 2 shows a greater change in the United States in forty years than was recorded for the Todas in 300 years. Note the great decrease

in those engaged in farming, and the increasing importance of clerks, salesmen, managers, proprietors, and officials. Note also the increase in the professionals and semi-professionals; the doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, machine tenders and operators. Data such as those contained in Table 2 refute the prediction of Marx that the proletariat composed of workers is the ever-increasing component of capitalistic society. The middle class component of cities is growing very rapidly.

The fulfilling of the status-role in this vast array of specialties represented in Figure 5 requires but the smallest fragment of the worker's total ability. Unlike the craftsman in the *Gemeinschaft*-like society, who sees his product through from start to finish, the specialized worker participates in only a small part of the total production. Inter-status-role disputes involving these specialties sometimes cause a delay in a project which affects hundreds of status-roles not immediately concerned with the dispute. Thus, when glass brick was still a new product the building of a giant department store which was to have a glass brick wall was retarded while both the glaziers and the bricklayers contested for the right to set the glass bricks. A person from a peasant society would have difficulty in understanding the rationale of such specialization.

The status-role structure of occupations has geographical and social implications for community structure. The so-called "multiplication factor" described by Form and Miller shows the close relationship of community and industry as regards status-roles.⁶⁴ It refers to the number of status-roles in the "services" category which exist in ratio to the number in the "base population" employed in basic manufacturing pursuits. As new jobs develop in basic industry new needs for services arise. A fairly constant ratio between the number of basic industry jobs and the number of service jobs exists, varying slightly but predictably by size of city, with the smaller urban center attracting fewer specialty service jobs in proportion to its number of basic industry jobs than the larger center. Thus the city as it grows becomes:

... the magnet that draws the ambitious from thousands of miles away and the goal that drives them back again to the peace of the country. The banker lives there and so does the beggar, the diplomat and the

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND BY DECENTNIAL PERIODS, UNITED STATES. 1910-1950 *

| Occupational Category | 1950** | 1940** | 1930# | 1920# | 1910# |
|-----------------------------------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| Nonfarm | 87.9 | 82.5 | 78.7 | 74.6 | 67.6 |
| Professional & Semi-professional | 7.2 | 6.9 | 6.0 | 4.9 | 4.3 |
| Proprietors, Managers & Officials | 10.4 | 7.8 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 6.4 |
| Clerical and Sales | 19.0 | 17.2 | 16.3 | 13.7 | 10.4 |
| Skilled Workers and Foremen | 12.9 | 12.8 | 12.9 | 13.4 | 11.4 |
| Semiskilled | 20.9 | 17.9 | 16.3 | 16.0 | 14.4 |
| Unskilled | 17.5 | 19.9 | 19.7 | 19.9 | 21.0 |
| Farm | 12.1 | 17.5 | 21.3 | 25.4 | 32.4 |
| Operators and Managers | 7.0 | 10.4 | 12.3 | 15.3 | 16.1 |
| Laborers | 5.1 | 7.1 | 9.0 | 10.1 | 16.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census; taken from Ronald Freedman *et al.*, *Principles of Sociology; A Text with Readings* (rev. ed., New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), p. 402.

** Data include all experienced workers 14 years of age and over. All social-economic groups are not directly comparable to these for preceding years.

Data are for gainful workers, ten years of age and over.

derelict, the actor and the accountant, the censor and the clown, the Philistine and the philosopher. Its structure contains every status and its groups every norm. It is both a place and a state of mind.⁶⁵

For all of the specialization of the *Gesellschaft*-like status-role, each incumbent has by no means acquired a specialty which makes his a unique contribution. In the highly rational occupational system a high degree of standardization of status-roles is developed so that, like the tires on a car, the incumbents of any given status-role may be interchangeable. The extremes of the standardization process are admirably stated by Alfred Krupp, the famous German industrialist:

What I shall attempt to bring about is that nothing shall be dependent upon the life or existence of any particular person; that nothing of any importance shall happen or be caused to happen without the fore-knowledge and approval of the management; that the past and the de-

terminate future of the establishment can be learned in the files of the management without asking a question of any mortal.⁶⁶

The sub-types under the Gemeinschaft- and the Gesellschaft-poles (as shown in Figure 2) which are most applicable to status-roles are respectively Diffuseness-Specificity, Traditional-Rational, Particularism-Universalism and Familistic-Contractual. These and other attributes of status-role will be seen to mold the kind of ranking structure which characterizes each of the polar types.

RANKING

Rank as an element. The symbols of differentiation in low and high rank in an industrial society are omnipresent. The squalid tenements and the landscaped and rolling estates spell differential rank even to the uninitiated. Little difference in standing on the other hand, could be detected by looking at the mud-houses in a village in Lebanon⁶⁷ nor would the cane-thatched roofs of the *ranchos* of San Juan Sur look more or less affluent than the tin-roofed *casa*.⁶⁸ Not only is there a much wider spread of differential ranking in a Gesellschaft-like social system than in the Gemeinschaft-like community, but there is much greater need to demonstrate it by conspicuous consumption. In a community of the simple peasant type everyone is so well known to everyone else that his rank needs no advertising or bolstering, but the mass of individuals in the Gesellschaft-like society are unknown as individuals to each other. As Veblen observed⁶⁹ conspicuous consumption, leisure, and many activities may symbolize rank which entitles the actor to an "increment of good repute."

Systems of actors with similar rank are strata and may be called classes, estates, or castes. In Gemeinschaft-like societies, in which rank may be derived at birth by ascription, estates and castes are important. In feudal Europe estates included actors whose rank whether peasant or nobility was determined by birth. Only by certain ceremonies such as that of being "knighted" could one rise from one strata to another. In a caste society like India, rank is relatively more permanent with less mobility between strata. Most societies are stratified. However, some peasant and primitive Gemeinschaft-like communities, although providing

ranks for members, are unstratified.⁷⁰ They have no classes, estates, or castes. No investigations have described industrial communities without strata. In conclusion then, *Gesellschaft*-like societies are characterized by communities which have more or less open classes; *Gemeinschaft*-like societies are characterized by communities which may or may not be stratified. If stratified they tend to have estates or castes.

Evaluation of actors and allocation of status-roles as process. For analytical purposes the concepts of rank as applied to either actors or status-roles and the evaluation process by which the rank is derived may be separated. Likewise these concepts may be separated from the process of allocation of status-roles or the recruitment of incumbents.⁷¹

In societies which are achievement-oriented, ranking through time constitutes a multiple process of evaluation by which pertinent reference systems, especially the society, rank the occupational positions or status-roles. Actors in turn evaluate these and make the necessary decisions and investment of time and energy to occupy them. Many studies have reported that in industrial society rank and class of individuals is most highly correlated with occupation, which in turn is, of course, closely related to educational attainment, income, and similar related variables.⁷²

One of the most distinctive differences between the *Gesellschaft*-like industrial societies and *Gemeinschaft*-like non-industrialized societies is the consensus within and among the industrialized societies concerning the value and rank of the various occupations.⁷³ In rapidly changing communities there are, of course, instabilities of status.⁷⁴ There are also societal variations reflected in differences such as the high ranking of medical doctors and business men and rather lower ranking of university teachers in the United States as compared with the Soviet Union in which there is no place for the business man as an individual entrepreneur, and university teachers out-rank doctors and most others except party and high government officials. Nevertheless, for occupations generally and especially in the industrialized capitalistic West, the rankings from society to society are surprisingly similar. There is no similar consensus for primitive and peasant societies. In the latter, control of food producing resources such as land is usually crucial in the ranking process.

There is much about rank which cannot be generalized in any detailed way from one social system to another when each unit is *Gemeinschaft*-like. The matrix of beliefs, sentiments, ends, and norms contain the values by which any collectivity accords rank to its members. Each community is likely to have a particularistic set of values uniquely adapted to its needs. The ranking system of each separate social system will of course reflect this singularity. The man elevated to high rank as being wise in one society might find himself at the bottom of the heap and considered a fool in another. Nonetheless, a few basic similarities in ranking procedures can be noted among the *Gemeinschaft*-like communities. The individual's status-role is largely prescribed by sex, numerical position among the siblings, customary inheritance practices of distributing land or other property, and the place of his family in the total structure (Figure 2). His chances for additional rank are in such subtleties as personal characteristics which are admired or needed by the social entity, the quality of his gardens and fields, the care he exercises in household and farm management, and such attributes as congeniality and helpfulness. It is evident that he cannot achieve by "working himself up in the world"; few roads go "up."

As the *Gesellschaft*-like units inevitably extend their activities many *Gemeinschaft*-like units are affected especially by greater specialization in status-roles with an accompanying greater divergence of ranks accorded to members. The exact progress of such specializations in social systems throughout the world has not yet been well documented. Useem found, for example, during his World War II experience in Angaur, that "the civil-affairs planners had been misled by the anthropological literature perused prior to invasion. . . . As a result, supplies were taken for an aboriginal people, whereas in reality what was needed were items of the same type as would be brought to a South Dakota rural community."⁷⁵ Nowhere has any social system been discovered, however, which does not show some shadings of differential rank. Useem continues:

The issuance of emergency relief precipitated some unforeseen cultural complications. An attempt to ascertain who needed shoes evoked a community-wide controversy. Shoes were not merely an article of

wear but also a mark of status. Those who previously were without shoes insisted that everyone urgently needed them, and persons who once possessed them maintained with great feeling that only the elite were entitled to shoes. . . . The issue was finally resolved by the compromise provision of shoes to all workers, thereby setting up a new social category. These were thereafter worn regardless of personal comfort and correctness of fit.⁷⁶

The relation between social mobility and change from the Gemeinschaft-like to the Gesellschaft-like society has been well documented.⁷⁷ Tumin and Feldman, in writing of the pressing need in Puerto Rico for a method of "converting a relatively uneducated and unskilled population into one suitable for efficient production in an industrialized division of labor" conclude:

This means that large segments of the population must desire the change and the accompanying socio-economic mobility. They must perceive the means by which change and mobility are to be achieved and feel that these means are accessible to them.⁷⁸

Not only are individuals ranked by other individuals in a community; the social systems that comprise the society also have a rank order. The family is the social system in the Gemeinschaft-like society which outranks all others in importance; it is actually made so important that it subsumes the function of other potential ranking systems such as an occupational or educational system. Thus, social systems within societies are ranked, and finally, societies are ranked with each other. The rank that any given member in a society is accorded is determined in part by these various rankings of systems and sub-systems and the individual's relation to the sub-systems.

The evaluations given various social systems in a society, can be ranked by what Parsons has called a "‘paramount’ value pattern."⁷⁹ For the United States he believes that the highest rank is accorded those collectivities which carry on the adaptive functions; namely, the economy, including industry and commerce. The second rank is given those agencies which deal primarily with pattern maintenance and tension management, namely health, educational, school and kinship systems. Most sociologists in agreement with Parsons recognize the close relations between occupation and rank. The higher the evaluation accorded the contri-

bution of the external pattern to society's adaptation, the higher the rank of groups strongly exhibiting that pattern. In families the chief representative of the external pattern, the head, has the highest rank. The rank of the family is thus based upon the place of its head in the external pattern of the group to which he makes his occupational contribution (coupled with the comparative ranking of this latter system). The place of the family head in his occupational system is determined by achievement. In *Gesellschaft*-like societies the most general and acceptable method of attaining rank is one of *achievement* in contrast to the ascription method of the *Gemeinschaft*-like society. The "best" jobs, i.e., those with high rank, are conceived to be those which require highly specialized training and a high degree of responsibility for the public welfare.⁸⁰

Occupation thus serves to rank actors by the ranking system applied to occupational levels in a given social system. Occupations can also serve to rank cities. The "goodness of a city" in terms of low crime rates, health, education, and the like is closely related to the occupational status-role structure. "The pattern of occupations may be used as the basis for deriving an index of the relative worth of cities."⁸¹ When rankings are used in aggregates such as would be necessary to examine the occupational patterns of a city not too much attention can be given to those highly ranked positions which by popular ratings fall in the rarefied atmosphere where only a few can ever be.⁸² The presidency of the United States, although a high-ranking status-role, accounts for only one position, and many other top-ranking status-roles are almost as exclusive in the number of incumbencies they offer. One can not look at the top-ranked occupations, therefore, and claim that the incumbents of these status-roles comprise the upper class. Separate studies of particular cities have found out who is at the top, the middle, and the bottom (or other levels of division), have discovered in what occupational categories these actors function and have thus discovered the correlation between social stratification and occupation. Although there are some geographical differences among such studies, the findings of Donald E. Wray⁸³ for example, are typical. "Illini City," a city of 66,269 population ranked at the top a business class which included the professional men and the owners and executives of the larger enterprises.

A group within this stratum, but not forming a separate stratum, are families of older stock. The business and professional class is separated from the rest of the people. The skilled workers and small proprietors, white collar workers, and minor professionals constitute the middle class of this community. In this particular urban community, as in many others in the United States, a cleavage has developed within the middle class. Skilled laborers affiliated with unions and identified with organized labor compose one side and the salaried white collar workers who are oriented toward the upper class in business compose the other. However, this cleavage was indistinct and difficult to define. The lower class were the lower paid wage earners and divided in terms of union affiliation which in turn was determined by place of employment. Attention is called to Figure 5 which roughly shows the proportions of these various classes for American society.

Some specific differences in rankings generally accorded occupations in the pre-industrial and in the industrial societies can be noted. The merchant, very often spurned and considered an "outcast" in medieval Europe and China⁸⁴ is accorded a much higher rank in the industrial society. However, capitalistic industrial society down-grades power positions in religious, governmental, agricultural, or educational activities which were occupations of high prestige in the pre-industrial society.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element. Ultimate power is to a large extent related to the ease with which systemic linkage can be achieved. Power in the *Gemeinschaft*-like community is almost wholly confined within the collectivity which dominates the society, be it family, tribe, large estate, or other agency. Although the family work team itself may be (and usually is, in feudal and peasant societies) somewhat controlled by a relation with some kind of over-lord, there is little functional integration between the various family work teams or between the larger units. And there likely is minimal linkage between the community and other communities or between the community and a state or national super-structure. A resulting relative independence from controls accrues to the organizations which comprise the community and to the community itself.

This circumstance is of great significance. . . . Among many other things it has much to do with the striking fact that the Communist movement has had so much more success in peasant societies than in industrialized societies, which have a much firmer structure between the lowest level community unit and the paramount integration of the power system.⁸⁵

In contrast, the myriad *Gesellschaft*-like social systems are systematically linked and functionally integrated. Each such linkage is a potential or actual control over the operations of each bureaucracy so linked. In capitalistic societies market control reflected in market prices affect the operation of all *Gesellschaft*-like organizations. To a much greater extent, reciprocal controls are exercised by "(1) the corporate community, (2) other organized interest groups, and (3) government."

If each corporate management were quite independent of every other corporate management and subject only to market controls in its development of policy, the structure of nonmarket controls might be of only secondary importance. In fact, however, there is a great deal of inter-relationship between corporate managements. Partly through interlocking directorates, partly through the activities of the major financial institutions, partly through particular interest groupings, partly through firms rendering legal, accounting, and similar services to the larger corporations, and partly through intercorporate stockholdings, the managements of most of the larger corporations are loosely brought together in what might be called the corporate community.⁸⁶

Among interest groups of importance are organized labor and trade associations. The interplay of the spheres of control exercised by these interest groups along with those of government comprise a vast power structure exceedingly difficult to pin-point in any single situation. Various studies reveal the concealed and many-sided nature of power location: a southern city upon which silent but pervasive power is being exerted by a large corporation in another central city;⁸⁷ a labor union competing with management and business for control in politics and civic affairs;⁸⁸ a community whose power pyramid is in reality composed of several apexes.⁸⁹

In *Gesellschaft*-like totalitarian societies the locus of power is generally focused overtly in a few power figures, a condition which makes such a society much more maneuverable in times of

national crisis than is the power-diffuse capitalistic society with its amorphous power structure.

When this public incapacity to act in self-protection is matched against a hardened system such as that of the Soviet Union—which can order populations to move, force the relocation of industry, and reduce vulnerability—it becomes apparent that the American system of federalism has some weaknesses. . . .⁹⁰

In contrast to the power diffusion in the form of influence, attendant upon the inter-bureaucratic relations is the power concentration in the form of authority within the bureaucracy. Typical of the intra-bureaucracy power structure are “line organizations” in which the flow of command descends from the pinnacle position on the organization chart in well-defined steps down to the lowliest supervisor in charge of a small work team. The ideal bureaucracy has a stipulated and limited amount of responsibility vested in each status-role with proportionate authority for the discharge of that responsibility.

In the *Gemeinschaft*-like work team each status-role is likely to have less limited responsibility and correspondingly broader authority by which the wider range of responsibility is discharged, although an over-all control is generally exercised by the head of the work team: the father of the family or the chief of the hunting party, all leaders in the external pattern of interaction. The functioning of these varied power components will be explored further as decision making and initiation of action are considered.

Decision making and its initiation into action. The patterns by which power is articulated vary greatly. Two dimensions may be mentioned: 1) the extent to which it is concentrated or dispersed among the status-roles and actors and 2) the manner of acquiring, maintaining, and buttressing the possession of power. The first dimension may range from the completely power-centered system of the one strong-actor through various arrangements of power elite down to the opposite end of the scale where, as in a Quaker congregation, everyone theoretically has equal power. The one situation is power-centered; the other is power-diffuse.⁹¹ Both *Gemeinschaft*-like and *Gesellschaft*-like systems may be found at various points on this continuum. The second vector or dimension polarizes on various of the sub-types in Figure 2 and, whatever its

other characteristics, usually exhibits familism vs. legal or contractual power. In the *Gemeinschaft*-like setting acquisition and maintenance of power is ascribed, traditional, and may be familialistic. It may also be characterized by affectivity, particularism, and diffuseness. The *caudillo* of Latin-American politics, for example, may at the outset be a charismatic figure, limited in his power to leadership in a sub-system, generally local. In order that a *caudillo* become a power wielding actor in either the regional or national scene he must be able to articulate his influence in the external pattern of the area. If this is accomplished through legally rational methods he achieves authority. If it is accomplished through particularistic, functionally diffuse and affective linkages with power figures from the outside, it is *Gemeinschaft*-like and non-authoritative.

Power wielders in *Gesellschaft*-like systems vary in the extent to which their capacity to control others is institutionalized into legitimate authority and the extent to which it rests upon non-authoritative bases. In the latter case, especially in achievement-oriented communities, power may be constantly sought in fierce struggles. Each power figure strikes the most favorable bargain possible to ramify his own position. The buttressing of this type of power requires rational and contractual action as described in Figure 2. *Gesellschaft*-like systems such as influential local groups in democratic, capitalistic societies fit the latter pattern. The more bureaucratic power structure of authoritarian states relies on all the sub-types to the right of Figure 2—affectionate neutrality, universalism, achievement, specificity, rationality, and contractual relations.⁹² The ease and efficiency of the decision making process itself, the effectiveness of the resultant decisions, the normative standards by which the decision making process is evaluated, and the eventual initiation into action are affected by the distribution of power within the social system (dimension one) and method of power maintenance (dimension two).

There can be no question that for the decision making process itself the fewer the people involved in making a decision the greater the saving in time and energy. And there seems to be no evidence which would support a claim that on the whole, multi-participant decisions are wiser, more easy to expedite, more self-operative, or more efficient in concept than decisions arrived at by

a small group or by a single member.⁹³ Nonetheless, in the United States at least, there is a pervasive conviction among many that group decision making is desirable even though the result may not be completely satisfactory. The process of decision making itself, quite aside from its results, is highly evaluated. Not only are governmental decisions criticized if "everyone" has not had a chance to be in on it, but production organization decisions are increasingly felt to be properly a sphere of public participation.

It is the author's impression that quite different evaluative norms exist for inter-bureaucracy decisions than obtain for intra-bureaucracy decisions. The worker who could not expect to be a party to decisions involving dealings with other firms (on such matters as source of raw materials, interest rates on loans, and so on) might feel threatened if he were not involved in offering suggestions concerning changes contemplated in his own section of activity. In this latter respect, much that passes in the guise of "decision making" is in reality the process by which management informs the affected workers, hears their suggestions, and provides a situation in which they can "blow off steam." The decision in question may already have been made or be so strongly indicated by a complex of conditions that it is, in effect, made; it may be reached after the workers' "decision making" meeting but with no conscious incorporation into the process of anything that went on at the meeting.

Generally, the decision making team could be predicted to include representatives from "the corporate community." But in the typical *Gesellschaft*-like society, "swapping" of threat and promise in a show of power bring into being a less public kind of interaction in decision making. Consider the school board member in a medium-sized city who wanted to get a school bill passed in the state legislature. He found that his bill failed because representatives commonly thought to be elected by organized labor had voted against it. A trip to the president of the union in the near-by big city assured the school board member that the representatives might change their minds about the re-introduced bill before the legislature if, after the bill had become a statute, the school board would do nothing to hinder and as much as possible to facilitate the unionizing of the teachers who were hired by the school board. The power of each of the principals involved in

this swap was enhanced by the "help" they gave each other. Both would be replaced by others as leaders and power figures in very short order if they could not get results.

The power figure in the *Gemeinschaft*-like system, on the other hand, is not nearly so liable to replacement. In a non-specialized social system there are fewer specialties which peculiarly fit some more than others for the power figure status-role. Further, he has fewer decisions to make since change is slow; he therefore is not called upon to demonstrate his power nearly so often as his counterpart in the *Gesellschaft*-like society. Nor is he propelled on a quest for power or on a demonstration that he *can* achieve since his position is assured by tradition and ascription. Neither do his followers spur him on to ever greater attainments, but they may expect to share any rewards which come his way by virtue of his power. He can make his decisions alone or in consultation with a few friends and almost certainly no one will be jostling his elbow to remind him that if his decision turns out badly others are ready to assume his duties. On the contrary Useem found that among Angaurese in the Caroline Islands:

When called upon to assume the role of policy-making, heretofore denied them, they made decisions which would call forth in themselves previously established emotional responses of subordinates. Intellectually they could assume coordinate status in the new "democratic" era but habitual anticipatory behavior led them to act as superordinates to themselves.⁹⁴

It is only necessary to imagine Walter Reuther putting himself in the place of the president of General Motors and voicing as his own the policy he would think appropriate from that other status-role to realize how fundamentally different Angaurese policy-making attempts were from those currently in use in the United States.

A provocative essay dealing with power suggests that the decision making process in *Gesellschaft* society is not the same thing for all men.

Managerial judgment and decision . . . together with the facts upon which decisions are based, cannot be submitted to . . . tests [comparable to those available for scientific and technological decisions] . . . business injects human—and, so, morally saturated—issues into the tech-

nical consideration as to how economic power is to be used. . . . The consequences of managerial decisions . . . however firmly grounded and technically sound, encounter challenges quite different from any that yet confront the scientist. These challenges, political and moral in their nature, not only render it difficult to do what may be technically necessary but also limit the authority of management in making any decision.⁹⁵

Despite the human as opposed to technical considerations, even many of the "morally saturated" issues in the *Gesellschaft*-like system are examined in universal terms. Decision making, as it is carried on in *Gesellschaft*-like social systems, is predominantly universalistic, affectively neutral, functionally specific, achievement oriented, contractual and rational; in the *Gemeinschaft*-like system it tends to have the opposite attributes (Figure 2).

SANCTIONING

Sanction as an element and application of sanctions as process. Although typologies of negative sanctions which closely resemble the *Gemeinschaft*-*Gesellschaft* dichotomy have proven useful, reality seems to indicate a greater admixture of *Gemeinschaft*-*Gesellschaft*-like traits in the composition of sanctions than in that of some of the other systemic elements. Just as the important norms in the *Gemeinschaft*-like community are generally clear cut and unequivocal, so too are the sanctions which are meted out. Whether the sanction be a reward for conformity or a punishment for digression it is likely to be affective. In many primitive and *Gemeinschaft*-like societies the actual determination of guilt is a form of punishment. Thus in trial by battle, ordeal, and compurgation—common in *Gemeinschaft*-like societies—it was assumed that only the non-guilty would not falter and reveal guilt.⁹⁶ The very act of violating a highly valued norm can be self-punishing in social systems where the *conscience collective* is highly developed as it is in many *Gemeinschaft*-like societies. In both peasant and pre-industrial communities, "The police force exists primarily for the control of 'outsiders' and the courts support custom and the rule of sacred literature, a code of enacted legislation typically being absent."⁹⁷

In the *Gesellschaft*-like urban community many *Gemeinschaft*-like sanctions usually remain: people conduct their day to

day activities and model their relations to each other in ways they have internalized as "good" or "bad" and much of their punishment comes from conscience. The greater need for functional and normative integration in the *Gesellschaft*-like system requires a societal machinery for the application of sanctions, both of punishment and of reward, not found in the *Gemeinschaft*-like society. The whole legal system, both legislative and judiciary, are parts of that machinery. The hierarchical activities of the external pattern involving rating sheets, pay plans, rules of tenure, and standards of achievement are mechanisms by which rewards can be distributed according to universal standards which are functionally specific and in accordance with achievement.

The typical *Gesellschaft*-like social system, unlike its *Gemeinschaft*-like counterpart, usually has changed so fast that some parts of its normative structure have scarcely had time to crystallize before more changes have occurred requiring more adaptations. Within these imperfectly institutionalized areas, the individual may wish to do "what is right" but be torn by doubts about what "right" is. The sanctions system, similarly, is imperfectly institutionalized, so that three similar cases of behavior may be variously rewarded, ignored, or punished. Much of the literature which deals with the ethics of power concentrations such as business, government, organized labor, and the like treats this twilight zone.⁹⁸

The positive sanctions as rewards in *Gesellschaft*-like societies are most commonly expressed in money terms—salaries, wages, commissions, etc. If any such reward is accorded a member in the *Gesellschaft*-like society over and above that contracted for within his status-role, it is likely to be viewed as particularistic treatment and is considered inappropriate, giving rise to suspicion of "graft." Rewards not clearly contractual must be attended by high ceremony: the testimonial dinner or the honorary degree. Both in government and in business the extra-contractual rewards are many, but they are frequently regarded as being given for ulterior motives. To allay criticism of particularism and to diminish the need to "respond in kind" to rewards given for ulterior motives, many government agencies have clearly stipulated norms governing the kind and value of gifts that may be properly received. The whole complex of *Gemeinschaft*-like traits—sustained by each of

the vectors shown in Figure 2—permits swift and unpremeditated punishment and unhampered and spontaneous rewarding without violation of accepted interaction patterns if carried out according to accepted norms.

FACILITATING

Facility as an element. Facilities, by definition, are means used to attain the ends of the system. Since the ends of the Gesellschaft-like systems under examination here are marked by their specificity, facilities in the Gesellschaft-like system are correspondingly specific and easy to identify. Conversely, the ends of the Gemeinschaft-like systems are functionally diffuse, a characteristic which also attends facilities. The machete is an invaluable tool to the youth from Costa Rica. With it he chops underbrush, kills snakes, cuts sugar-cane, slices papaya, whacks off a hand of bananas, or the head of a festive fowl. It is also a symbol of his manhood, the article of apparel that gives him dash. It is used often, worn with pride, sharpened carefully, and loved well. Its handle feels good in the hand; the slap of the scabbard feels good on the leg.

Weber, MacIver, Moore and others have addressed themselves to a distinction between the purely utilitarian and instrumental facilities of the Gesellschaft designated as "civilization" and the functionally diffuse artifacts of the Gemeinschaft designated as "culture." Although typewriters, steam shovels, railroads and similar creations of man are considered as essentially different from a drama, a game, a philosophy, or a creed, such items as the machete, the totem pole, the sacred cow, the festive gunpowder are not as conveniently categorized. Thus it is that the utilization of the facility and not the intrinsic facility itself is the determining factor of its systemic importance and the one sound *sine qua non* justifying the inclusion of facilitating as a process in the conceptual scheme employed in this group of essays.

Utilization of facilities as process. The utilization to which given facilities of a society are put is for the most part a matter of end, knowledge, and evaluation. The intensity and extensivity of some evaluations are directly reflected in the manner and degree to which facilities are used. Facilities for regulative functions,

such as those for health, personal hygiene, and birth control, for example, are systemically ineffective, even though the facility and the knowledge of its use is generally held, if a great many people do not utilize them. Widespread utilization, such as is required for significant systemic results, can emanate only from a high evaluation of the end for which the facilities are used and their relation to the end.

Since this essay has as one point of focus the production system, it will not be amiss to take a look at the classic factors of production and briefly characterize them on the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* poles. With only a limited number of exceptions, the recognition in essence if not in complete consciousness that people in the aggregate constitute a factor of production is testified to by the traditionally large farm families, by the occasional normative practice of infanticide when additional people would have unbalanced the production and consumption system, and by the positive sanctions for large families in some societies whose birth rate is seriously declining. People as the bearers of culture, as the expressors of art and sentiment, and as the dreamers of goals are in no wise diminished by the abstracted, less personal (viewed from over-all society) almost statistical importance they play in the aggregate as a factor of production in the rational *Gesellschaft*-like projections made by census offices. Thus, a society's population contour by age, sex, race, nativity, geographic distribution, marital status, and other factors is one of the facilities of production, and its recognition as such is much more highly developed and prevalent in the *Gesellschaft*-like than the *Gemeinschaft*-like society. Many societies which are emerging from the *Gemeinschaft*-like stage into the *Gesellschaft*-like stage are severely handicapped by lack of development of personnel for rational planning and statistical material on which to base rational policy making. How population is evaluated and eventually utilized is likely to polarize, and of course represents a profound difference in the make-up of the *Gemeinschaft*-like and *Gesellschaft*-like societies.

Most of the other facilities of production spring from the physical setting itself and the society's use of the available resources. The available energy—water, coal, oil, and nuclear energy—are unused or little used in the more *Gemeinschaft*-like

society, and exploited to fairly full use in the *Gesellschaft*-like society. Land, in its most comprehensive meaning is used more frequently for symbolic and normative integrative purposes and less rationally by actors and organizations in the *Gemeinschaft*-like than in the *Gesellschaft*-like system. The fixed capital in the *Gemeinschaft*-like social system is likely to be smaller, less diverse, differently distributed, and be amenable to less substitution than is such capital in the *Gesellschaft*-like social system. The rates of accumulation of capital and industrialization are positively related to the extent of mobility and the rational application of all factors of production.

The evaluations which are basic to the utilizations of some of the inventions, particularly the organizational inventions are a good deal more illuminating than a recitation of the inventions themselves. The evaluative judgment which underlies credit, for example, as well as the symbolic logic which is the stuff of foreign and international trade permeates the utilization of such facilities as Board of Trade quotations and international exchange rates.

The change agent who had attempted to introduce a superior seed in a Hindu village was given a revealing glimpse of cultural traits through this Hindu farmer's evaluation of the new wheat seed:

It is true . . . that if the Lord pleases, one will get a better weight of fat wheat from the field sown with Government's improved seed: the yield in weight is really very good. One or two farmers had tried it. However, they had no intention of doing so again. The operator of the seed store was an impossible man. He gave the seed at a low enough rate of interest, but he demanded that it be paid back on a certain date . . . What was most unreasonable, the seed store operator demanded that the seed should be grown and returned pure, not mixed with the barley, peas, gram, and oil seeds that guaranteed against complete crop failure in a bad wheat season . . . The grain is indeed big—so big and tough that the women cannot grind it well in the old stone flour mills. Dough made from the new flour is difficult to knead and hard to bake into good bread. The new bread . . . does not taste like the good old bread: it is flat and uninteresting (the explanation being in part, of course, that it does not contain the potpourri of barley, peas, gram and mustard seeds that "wheat" contained in the old days). Next, look at the cows and bullocks! They do not like to eat the straw of the new wheat; they will die of hunger if we grow it. The straw is worthless, too, for

thatching roofs. It does not even make a good fire to warm our hands in winter.⁹⁹

The writer concludes that the Hindu farmer's conservatism was wise in a culture in which norms and functions are so tightly interconnected, an attribute overlooked by the original change agent.

The *Gesellschaft*-like society usually displays a battery of recreational-expressive facilities. What in the *Gemeinschaft*-like society is supplied by the identification with nature, by affective relations with work team members and by a love of the facilities themselves is supplied in the *Gesellschaft*-like system by big-time baseball, big-time dance bands, classes in arts and crafts, and so forth. The *Gesellschaft*-like social system is not entirely devoid of expressive sentiments in relation to their facilities; the new plant and the architecturally advanced building which houses industry are likely to be points of pride. The difference between the two poles in this respect can easily be understood by anyone who has gone in August to watch the intense religious and recreational fervor of the Pueblo Indian Corn dance, and later in November has attended the public viewing of the new model display of automobiles. Such an observer would not ask why the facilities evaluated highly by members of the *Gesellschaft*-like social systems would include many recreational items. The Indian Corn dance is integrative and not designed to increase sale or consumption of corn—the automobile display is sales oriented; its integrative function is incidental.

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication. The concept "communication" as applied to the *Gemeinschaft*-like collectivity, must embody a great deal more than the term often signifies. It may refer to literacy levels, to communication impediments brought about by lack of historical and cultural perspective, to the impossibility of evoking either by the spoken word or by demonstration a picture of another way of life in a village shut off from the *total example* of another way of life, to the disrupted social system which can result when only *one piece* of a patterned whole yields to communication successfully directed at change. The typically *Gemeinschaft*-like collectivity is characterized by extremely effi-

cient methods of communication within the highly integrated unit, but by dismally inefficient means of communicating with other outside bodies and other sub-systems within the same agency. Within the *Gemeinschaft*-like system, the word can be carried easily and its meaning is clearly and uniformly received by members who subscribe to common beliefs, sentiments, ends, and norms. One example, from Italy, which would have infinite variations from system to system, may suffice:

Occasional announcements of public interest—"there are fish for sale in the piazza at 100 lire per chilo"—are carried by a town crier wearing an official cap, who toots a brass horn to attract attention. Official notices are posted in the salt and tobacco store . . . and on a bulletin board in the town hall. Several copies of three or four newspapers published in Rome, Naples, and Potenza come into town by bus every day or two, but these of course do not deal much with local affairs and they are read by very few.¹⁰⁰

In contrast to the *Gemeinschaft*-like collectivity, the technically advanced society is able to spread the word or the picture fast and far; the audience, however, is so heterogeneous that it is likely to make various interpretations of the same word or picture and be evoked to dissimilar states of mind and courses of action by the communication content. The omnipresence, if not downright obtrusiveness, of the mass media is able to create a false impression of the extent to which communication of ideas is effective. Few in a *Gesellschaft*-like society, for example, could escape having heard of and read of nuclear physicists. Despite the exposure of millions to the term in fairly compelling circumstances, of a nation-wide sample, "Only three per cent of those interviewed gave a satisfactory exact definition or explanation when asked: 'A good many people don't know exactly what a Nuclear Physicist does, but what is your general idea of what he does?'"¹⁰¹ Fifty-five per cent answered "I don't know," 7 per cent gave wrong answers and another 35 per cent vague or partially correct answers. The quality of some of the answers: "Assistant to a physic. His job would be on the body"; "He does something at an operation—I think he gives the anaesthetic"; "I think 'nuclear' is some kind of new plastic"; "He's a spy"; "Studies eggs, doesn't he?"; "He replaces your limbs when they have been

amputated"; "Something to do with the New Dealers"; "He's a doctor that puts you to sleep and makes you talk about yourself"—suggests rather boldly that a literacy rate of 98 per cent and mass communications which carry messages to every corner of a great country are not the only ingredients necessary for effective communication. Despite its shortcomings, without modern means of communication there could not be modern cities; it is in the cities that the centers and facilities for communication are located. The herald with his bright official cap and little brass horn who so successfully announces to the Italian peasantry that fish are for sale would be a complete failure in New York City.

It may be said that communication takes place in the *Gesellschaft*-like system, e.g. in a modern city, by a double process: First, the news itself comes from one of the mass media. Then the meaning of the news is judged, the important and unimportant items sorted out, the new mental set which takes cognizance of the new pieces of information is formed in the context of the informal-friendship group, or the semi-informal fringes of secondary membership organizations.

The communication pattern can often be used as an indicator of the degree of *Gesellschaft*-like influence on the more *Gemeinschaft*-like hinterland. One study in the Ozark mountain region of Missouri based upon newspaper circulation, radios, automobiles, and all-weather roads indicated that the greater the accessibility of the rural place through and by these media, the greater the out-migration from the rural place, the lower the birth rate, the lower the proportion of people who are married, the higher the rates of divorce, the higher the homicide rates, and the lower the rates of illiteracy.¹⁰²

Communications between members of a *Gemeinschaft*-like village and members of a *Gesellschaft*-like society become increasingly frequent as industrial capitalism has sought new sources of raw materials and has involved the isolated places inevitably in the arena of world trade and politics. In both totalitarian and democratic industrial states both functional and normative integration is in large measure determined by the effectiveness of communication. Its effective management may insure either decisions and action which express the ends and norms of citizens

generally or it may result in "thought control" by the ruling elite who attempt to create both the ends and norms.

Boundary maintenance. An indication of the many variations which may be important in the articulation of elements to produce boundary maintenance in *Gemeinschaft*-like societies is suggested by a typology developed by Freed who related the *shtetl* (small town) Jews of eastern Europe and the Old Order Amish of Pennsylvania.¹⁰³ Both are similar in that as boundary maintaining devices they have a distinctive language, practice endogamy, oppose secular education, severely penalize deviants, manipulate patterns of mutual aid as sanctions to shield the focal aspects of the systems. On the side of systemic linkage or acculturation, both manifest a readiness to change in order to improve the economic situation, provided the change is outside the focus of elements given high priority in the system. The status-roles which through trading and other activities brought the Jew in contact with the outside world were placed in lower or middle class positions, less apt to be imitated than the learned and religiously oriented actors in the upper classes.

The importance of mechanisms which prevent a reduction in the commitment to the beliefs, ends, and norms is crucial. This is brought out by the manner in which strangers, who are frequently traders, are related to the systems. In general, the stranger, to live in a *Gemeinschaft*-like society, must fit into one of the limited number of available status-roles, trader or other accepted specialty. In some primitive societies the outsider must be ceremonially adopted by one of the families into a family status-role, evicted, or killed.

Vestiges of the same attitudes are found in cities where people frequently deplore wholesale imports of labor from another part of the country or world, and where migrants are regarded as perhaps necessary but certainly not welcome. The economic needs of the city as well as legal and moral norms prevent residents of the city from the effective boundary maintenance practiced by the *Gemeinschaft*-like groups. Low rank and discriminatory practices are very likely substitutes used in lieu of the boundary maintenance devices denied the urban community. In part, the continuous shifting of place of residence in the city negates successful boundary maintenance. Only 0.6 per cent of the adult resi-

dents of the Detroit area have lived all their lives in the same dwelling unit.¹⁰⁴ Many are strangers. Although most moves are within community zones, the median distance of moves (3.2 miles in Detroit) is too far to keep the movers within Gemeinschaft-like neighborhoods.¹⁰⁵ In Gemeinschaft-like systems residence stability is very great. The proportion who have not moved would closely resemble those which had moved in the industrialized cities.

Zoning laws, which often combine stipulations for minimum cost of residence and ethnic qualifications, must be viewed as a boundary maintenance device within the city. In this respect Firey postulates an interesting application of Durkheim's concept of symbols. Its significance for boundary maintenance as well as for ranking and communication is evident.

As Durkheim indicates, symbols denoting radically divergent values ("sacred" versus "profane") must be spatially distinct and separate lest their values become confounded. This is all the more necessary because of the "contagious" character of symbolism, by which the meanings attaching to a symbol tend to proliferate and fix onto other objects associated with the symbol. Apply this to land use. The symbolism of residential areas falls on a single scale of prestige valuation, ranging from "low" to "high." A district platted out with high deed restrictions will attract families of corresponding class status and will thus come to symbolize that class status to the community at large. Similarly a district platted out with no restrictions will attract families of lower class status and will acquire a corresponding reputation or symbolic quality. If the two districts happen to adjoin one another, their respective symbolic qualities will tend to diffuse. This means a devaluation, in terms of prestige, of the upper-class area, and a heightened valuation of the lower-class area. The former thus loses the very quality (and the only one) to which it owes its hold upon upper-class families. The latter gains somewhat, but not enough to lift it out of the lower-class category owing to the actual class affiliations of its residents. Presently upper-class families begin to sell their homes, property values decline, restrictions lose their force, and blight sets in. In this way residential land use . . . tends immanently to gravitate toward lower-class occupancy, thereby creating slums.¹⁰⁶

Integration needed in cities is in considerable part provided by special status-roles and force. Whereas in peasant and primitive societies, the status-roles which specialize in this function

may be small in number, in the *Gesellschaft*-like system even in peaceful times the formal status-roles representing law and order are constantly increasing. Thus, in the United States, for every 100 new jobs added to industrial centers, approximately .57 policemen must be added, a larger addition than for any profession except for that of medical doctor, which is added at approximately the same rate.¹⁰⁷

Systemic linkage. The ideal type *Gemeinschaft*-like social system, being both isolated and self-sufficient, has little systemic linkage. Even the language of its actors and their form of worship, when part of a larger ethnic or cultural pattern, tend to become so particularized that the spoken word and the religious act are significantly different than in comparatively near-by social systems. In actual practice, even the most *Gemeinschaft*-like social system has some rudimentary forms of systemic linkage. This often comes about by trade or barter. The limitations of the systemic linkage induced by trade in isolated areas is suggested by Tannenbaum who reports that one-fifth of 3,600 rural Mexican villages were still using barter rather than money, that only seven per cent had local markets, that of the 93 per cent whose residents had to go outside their own villages to trade, residents had to travel between 15 and 80 kilometers to the nearest market town. That systemic linkage in such a setting is not high is further established:

Furthermore, the Mexican village lacks easy communication. It generally has neither train nor automobile. It has neither telegraph nor telephone; it has no post office. In addition to having—as is frequently the case—a different language, it has, even where Spanish is a common bond, no means of keeping in touch with the world beyond its own borders.¹⁰⁸

Despite these limited linkages the *Gemeinschaft*-like social systems have changed, in large part due to outside contacts, and will continue to change. It is the contention of the author that, as two or more collectivities are merged so that by systemic linkage they function in some respects and some times as one, the respective social structures and functions before, during, and after the linkage are crucial in determining the nature of the change involved. This is particularly true of *Gemeinschaft*-like

social groups which differ from one another more than do industrial societies. A group of anthropologists have reported on the very different manner in which the Yaqui, Pueblo and Navaho Indians manage what is here called systemic linkage.

To draw an analogy . . . assume that a social scientist, upon returning from his summer vacation, finds on his desk invitations to lecture before various women's clubs, to join an administrative committee of his university, and to run for political office in his community. These invitations draw him away from what he had been before—a research worker. In this situation the Yaqui Indian would accept every invitation but would also continue his research; each activity would be well organized and successful. The Pueblo would probably refuse all invitations so as to remain a pure scientist, but even if he did accept just one he would never lose his research perspective . . . The Navaho would not understand the invitations, and would leave at the first opportunity of another vacation . . .¹⁰⁹

Changes resulting from systemic linkage are as ubiquitous in the *Gesellschaft*-like group as they are scarce in the *Gemeinschaft*-like group. In contrast to the self-sufficient life of the peasant, the industrialite in the *Gesellschaft*-like social system participates in a social and economic life which is completely dependent upon an intricate meshing of huge social, political, and economic systems. Man's work group becomes in part his friendship group, his formal organizational memberships become community linked or work linked. Each family member at various stages of growth becomes linked to appropriate sub-systems which in turn in a loose way, provide inter-family linkage. Thus the urban man has little parts of himself connected with literally dozens of different systems and with literally hundreds of other individuals who, like himself, are linked to each other by the involvement of only a part of their personalities. Riesman has made famous by his term "the lonely crowd" the phenomena of a way of life sated with "contacts" but empty of total personal involvement.¹¹⁰

For the productive enterprises of the *Gesellschaft*-like society, system linkage tends to become an amalgamative process which seems to be inherent in corporate behavior. The economies which can be effected by bigness and the favorable terms which can be reached by a concentrated rather than a divided power sets the trend toward amalgamation and absorption rather than simple

systemic linkage. In terms of systemic linkage in the United States consider the following:

Fifty per cent of the employers (the smallest) employ only 4 per cent of the workers, whereas nine tenths or one per cent of the employers (the largest) employ 50 per cent of the workers. The assets of some corporations are greater than the total wealth of the states in which they are privileged to do business. Some have entered into "treaties," cartels, and other arrangements with foreign countries and foreign corporations which constitute acts beyond the legal power even of the states which awarded them their charters.¹¹¹

Even when corporate bodies maintain their own identities, through their trade associations, the same investigator reports that systemic linkage was sufficiently thorough that the separate corporations were able "to establish uniform rates, uniform contracts, and simultaneous rate increases," to lobby successfully for favorable legislation in a number of the legislatures of the most populous states, and to divide the field among them in a manner whereby "competition was eliminated and 'proprietary' interests became 'frozen.'" ¹¹²

Some students of the country's economy see in the excessive corporate linkage a more or less evenly balanced struggle between the corporate society and the nation's governmental structure.¹¹³ Other observers believe, apparently, that the ultimate in systemic linkage has already very nearly been achieved by a virtual single identity between nation and corporation.

Business is in politics and the state is in business. The state political apparatus can tolerate only the most efficient management of the economic system, since it depends directly upon the latter for national power in foreign relations; whereas the economy must have the political power to extend control, as the Nazis have demonstrated, to the regulation of the social sphere . . . as an essential aid to foreign economic competition. The result is an unmistakable trend toward the monolithic power structure of the totalitarian state.¹¹⁴

As Lynd infers by his reference to the Nazi experience, excessive systemic-linkage, first among corporations, then between corporation and state, is not limited as a phenomenon to the experience of the United States. Italy, Germany, China and the U.S.S.R. have shown the same tendency.

Lest the concept of the community be lost in this development of systemic linkage which seems to by-pass the community and link productive enterprise immediately on a national level, it should be made clear that to a large extent that is the true measure of the extent of linkages in the productive field. The community is tremendously affected by corporation policy as the latter decides when to operate its plants and when to close them, whether to move from one town to another, how much to pay, and to initiate other actions. "The student of modern history may expect to find himself observing more and more clearly the simultaneous development [of the corporation and of the state] in terms of conflict over control of the major decisions of the corporation, which, at one remove, create the major decisions of the modern political state."¹¹⁵

The presence or absence of systemic linkage is not so important for the sociologist as the factors which facilitate or retard its occurrence. These are vital to the understanding of the dynamics of change. In the process of systemic linkage of particular interest is the range of the objectives or interests of the citizens of communities, whether city or rural. In the *Gemeinschaft*-like peasant communities of the underdeveloped areas a relatively greater interest is confined to the people and events in the local community; a relatively large proportion of the citizens of industrial cities are interested in world affairs. Merton has used two types, "local" and "cosmopolitan," to differentiate influentials.¹¹⁶ Cosmopolitan influentials read more magazines than the "localities," using the contents for "self-improvement" or "to keep up with things." Thus the "newsmagazine serves . . . for diffusion of 'culture' from the outside world to the 'cultural leaders'" of the local community. The local influentials read more local newspapers, whereas all of the cosmopolitan influentials read the metropolitan press newspapers.

Cities seem to be composed of *Gemeinschaft*-like clique groups, and the localite cliques refer their collectivity orientation to the immediate community or neighborhood. The cosmopolitan refers his interest to the larger society, nation, or other system beyond the community. The difference in systemic linkage of both cliques and communities is thus illustrated. In commenting upon the fact that leaders are more tolerant of communists, athe-

ists, and similar deviants than others, Riesman observes, using Merton's types, that cosmopolitans who take on positions of formal leadership become middlemen of tolerance, thus performing an important step in systemic linkage.¹¹⁷

Form and Miller report that increasingly the linkage between management and labor is being established within the governing boards of the organizations which control American urban communities.¹¹⁸ This joint relation was established through socialist and other activities in European centers many years ago. In order that cities may have integration, systemic linkage in the form of "multiple group membership is needed to provide linkages for the coordination of diverse groups. Mobility need not inevitably lead to social disorganization, if the population expects it, is trained for it, and makes its moves between similar social situations."¹¹⁹

There is thus a tendency for integration on some fronts. But as the underdeveloped countries industrialize:

The city . . . has a definite tendency to break down the old cultural traditions and to weaken the influence of traditional status considerations and interpretations of the worker's place in the social hierarchy. Though residence in a city may create anxieties and stress often bordering on *anomie*, this very same process may produce the result of creating in the cooperation with other workers in the factory an environment in which the new social relations established there may come to be regarded rather as a positive integrating than a disorganizing factor.¹²⁰

Systemic linkage in industrialized cities is a dynamic process which requires that solidarities of one form or another develop lest man suffer from anomie and loneliness. Scarcely has one form of solidarity developed but new changes eliminate it and another must be formed. The bombardment of change upon the family is continual and, in work and the home, the struggle between *Ge-meinschaft*-like and *Gesellschaft*-like forces is continual.

Socialization. Not too much is known about the ingredients necessary to produce personalities which are most functional in given societies. Little enough is known about the process of socialization as it occurs in the most primary of all social systems, the family, and in the dominant informal social systems of peers

or of the school. Perhaps less is known about the function of the community in socialization. A study by Plant, based on data gathered in Newark and paraphrased here, tentatively suggests

... that the effects of living under conditions of close physical proximity are to heighten personal insecurity, to destroy the illusions which make for personal integration, and to substitute personal satisfaction for mutual satisfaction. Urban living is seen as tending toward the privatization of activity—the divorcement of the person from a sense of mutual participation in the society, resulting in increased withdrawal into the self.¹²¹

A rural sociologist gathered data designed to show the personality adjustment of school children in Miami County, Ohio.¹²² The children in this study came from a city of 17,000 population. The rural children came either from farms or from rural non-farm homes. He concludes that there is evidence that farm children tend to be more self-reliant, have a greater sense of self-esteem and belonging, and greater freedom from withdrawing tendencies.

Lacking conclusive evidence from empirical studies which would indicate the causal factors and the personality results of the socializing process of the community, the insightful observations of a few of the early sociologists will cast some light on possible socializing factors as well as sum up the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* polar types of the community and its productive enterprises. Simmel says of the city:

Punctuality, calculability, exactness are forced upon life by the complexity and extension of metropolitan existence and are not only most intimately connected with its money economy and intellectualistic character. These traits must also color the contents of life and favor the exclusion of those irrational, instinctive, sovereign traits and impulses which aim at determining the mode of life from within, instead of receiving the general and precisely schematized form of life from without. Even though sovereign types of personality, characterized by irrational impulses, are by no means impossible in the city, they are, nevertheless, opposed to typical city life . . .

The same factors which have thus coalesced into the exactness and minute precision of the form of life have coalesced into a structure of the highest impersonality; on the other hand, they have promoted a

highly personal subjectivity. There is perhaps no psychic phenomenon which has been so unconditionally reserved to the metropolis as has the blasé attitude . . . that blasé attitude which, in fact, every metropolitan child shows when compared with children of quieter and less changeable milieus . . . The self preservation of certain personalities is bought at the price of devaluating the whole objective world, a devaluation which in the end unavoidably drags one's own personality down into a feeling of the same worthlessness.¹²³

If we assume with G. H. Mead that we are socialized as we learn to play the roles of others and "call out in ourselves the response of the community,"¹²⁴ the youngsters of El Cerrito, New Mexico, can call out in themselves the response of the community, in that they have been able to internalize perfectly how every other member of the community, friend or foe, old or young, will respond to a given situation. Is it of importance that a youngster in a large city can only do the same for his immediate family and his friends? Parsons has observed that the United States as a type of universalistic achievement-oriented society must have mobility which means that communities and similar bodies are weak. "Perhaps partly as a compensatory mechanism in this context such societies tend to develop intense diffuse affective attitudes of solidarity with reference to the largest unit of community, namely the nation."¹²⁵

John and Ruth Useem suggest that in "modern urban civilization, there is little carry-over of the forms of social behavior learned in childhood and adolescence to adult behavior in the bureaucratic world of work."¹²⁶ Riemer suggests rural and urban personality differences as shown in Figure 6.

"The core of urban personality withdraws behind many layers of highly standardized behavior by which the individual bids for group acceptance . . . The urban environment permits him to submit only to a highly segmentalized process of socialization . . . The urban process of socialization leaves the individual relatively independent . . . The emphasis is upon etiquette rather than morals."¹²⁷

Riesman attempts to develop an historical correlation between the prevalence of the inner-directed man of yesteryear with the other-directed personality of today. The case is developed that there was a period in history when men did what their inner con-

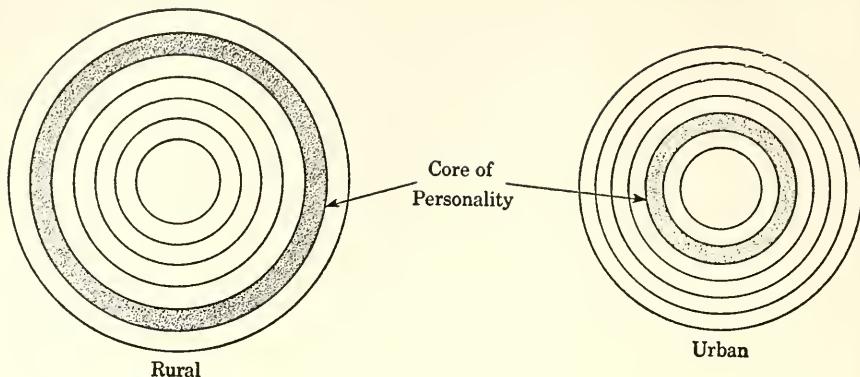


FIGURE 6
RURAL AND URBAN PERSONALITY CORE.*

* From an idea by Kurt Lewin as adapted by Riemer, *op. cit.*

victions told them to do: they were "themselves" in Simmel's sovereign sense; that in the present day men do what they do in response to what they believe other people will think about it, in Simmel's sense, the blasé. Loomis and Beegle accounted for this change in overt personality behavior in terms of the passing of the Gemeinschaft.¹²⁸ Whether the emergent type be called other-directed or blasé, it is suggested that the same result is produced by the passing of neighborhoods and communities of the Gemeinschaft-like type which afforded an opportunity to internalize "the response of the community" in the sense proposed by Mead.¹²⁹

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Territoriality. Very generally speaking Durkheim's late-nineteenth-century observation still obtains: "Whereas lower societies are spread over immense areas according to population, with more advanced people population always tends to concentrate . . ." ¹³⁰ Although Gemeinschaft-like collectivities have infinitely different patterns by which they are settled, the superficial use of the resources at hand requires a much wider territory upon which to draw. Whether the arrangement of the community itself is spread out as isolated households surrounded by fields in the late American tradition or concentrated in a village-like pattern with the farmers traveling short distances to and from their fields, the

basic fact of a large land usage to support a comparatively small number of people is characteristic of the *Gemeinschaft*-like organization with its unspecialized labors and products. Where there is little trade and industrialization, e.g.

In parts of Latin America . . . settlements are scattered at relatively uniform intervals through the land as social and religious centers. In contrast to most cities, their busiest day is Sunday, when the surrounding populace attend church and engage in holiday recreation, thus giving rise to the name Sunday town.¹³¹

Although there are many exceptions as industrialized cities form, the basic human motivation to maximize the satisfactions to be derived from expenditures of energy result in certain territoriality patterns. Form and Miller have attempted to describe the basic pattern of urban society in general indicating its ecological profile.¹³² Although it is unnecessary here to specify the relations of the typical location of heavy industry, light industry, retail trade, etc., it is important to indicate that industrial and commercial functions in large measure determine the residential areas. The most important linkage in the city is that of residence with work and "the most important single component of daily population movement is that between residence and workplace."¹³³ For persons who walk, some three miles more or less is the maximum distance traveled from residence to work. Possession of a car may extend this to from 20 to 40 miles.¹³⁴

That the urbanite has the geographical anchorage of occupation should not obscure the fact that high mobility is an essential feature of *Gesellschaft*-like society. Wilbert Moore makes it a key factor in change from the nonindustrialized *Gemeinschaft*-like society to the *Gesellschaft*-like form. The requirements for this change "imply placing a positive value on *mobility*, which is a revolutionary change in most nonindustrial societies."¹³⁵ Each new invention increases the mobility of the residents and cities of the hinterlands. Thus ten years ago New York was four days (by train) from San Francisco; now it is a few hours distant (by air). New York City is now no more than 40 hours from the most remote part of the world. The technology is available to make transportation from all parts of any nation to its center much cheaper and quicker. In any case each invention whether in the form of

destructive implements of war or vehicles to carry these wartime missiles or to carry people and consumable cargoes in peace time, changes the territoriality condition of social systems.

Since World War II, sprawling suburbs have been built all over the western world for the mobile who must move to new jobs in different places. This development has perhaps reached its climax in the United States. "The man who leaves home is not the exception in American society but the key to it."¹³⁶ The very moving of people in the *Gesellschaft*-like urban society helps produce the interchangeable actor. "The training," as an I.B.M. executive succinctly puts it, 'makes our men interchangeable. . . .' The more people move about, the more similar the American environments become, and the more similar they become, the easier it is to move about."¹³⁷ The great suburban residential movement sweeping over the western world is a manifestation of the search for quiet and clean places to live which also may provide a degree of the internal interaction pattern for the residents of the *Gesellschaft*-like systems. The large cities, for all their urbanity, seem to contain an impressive degree of local community life within their metropolitan limits.

Although the *Gemeinschaft*-like community of the peasant frequently makes space and terrains "a holy imminance" to which the wanderer returns or dreams of returning with affection, the spatial element of the industrial city is only an impediment—something to be overcome. A visionary writing about the future of the city, nevertheless, finds it necessary to provide the stimulation necessary for creativity.

Technological change may take away from the cities of the future all the functions made necessary by war, poor communications, and the need to concentrate populations for production and consumption. But the unique function of cities in providing for contact among many kinds of human creativity will remain, possibly to be met by cities that are centers for the new conference methods of multimodal communication.¹³⁸

NOTES

1. For the purposes of this essay, a work team may be defined as a collectivity composed of at least two members who accept a common objective and cooperate to achieve this; the community is defined as a collectivity

encompassing a territorial unit within which members pursue most of their every day activities necessary in satisfying common needs.

2. Society is defined as the collectivity which furnishes the primary referents for cognitive, expressive, and moral activities of communities and their social systems.

3. *The Point Four Program*, Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series 23, Division of Publications, Department of State (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office).

4. Pitirim A. Sorokin in the Foreword to Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society—Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*; translated and introduced by Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing, Michigan; Michigan State Univ. Press, 1957), pp. ix-x.

5. Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society—Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*; *op. cit.* For conceptualizations of outstanding social scientists (Émile Durkheim, Charles Horton Cooley, Robert Redfield, Howard Becker, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons) and their relations to Toennies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, see the Introduction to the translation of Toennies' work (pp. 12ff.) *supra*. Here will also be found similar usages made by Wilhelm Max Wundt, Herbert Spencer, Carle C. Zimmerman, Howard Odum, Henry Maine, and Gustav Ratzenhofer.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

7. The four pattern variables of Parsons which appear in Table 2 and are referred to throughout the essay are related to the ideal types, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in several ways. Those involved in instrumental action (universalism, functional specificity, affective neutrality and achievement or performance) on the one hand and those involved in system-integrative action (diffuseness, particularism, ascription or quality and affectivity) respectively, "very closely characterize what in much sociological literature have been thought of as polar types of institutional structure, the best known version of which perhaps has been the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomy of Toennies." Talcott Parsons *et al.*, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 207-208. See Essay 1 in this volume for the relation of these concepts to the internal and external patterns.

8. John C. McKinney, "Methodology, Procedures, and Techniques in Sociology," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (eds.), *Modern Sociological Theory* (New York: The Dryden Press, c 1957), p. 225. Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation: Essays on Social Context, Actions, Types and Prospects* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950), pp. 97, 261-262.

9. *Sociologische Studien und Kritiken*, II, Jena, 1926, p. 131; also "Philosophical Terminology," *Mind, A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy*, Vol. VIII, 1899, p. 292.

10. Charles P. Loomis and John C. McKinney, "Systemic Differences Between Latin-American Communities of Family Farms and Large Estates," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 61, No. 5, March 1956, pp. 404-412.

11. Rudolph Heberle in the Preface to Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xii.

12. Raoul Narroll, "A Preliminary Index of Social Development," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, No. 4, August 1956. William Form and Delbert

Miller, *Industry, Labor, and Community* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1960). See also Edward R. Ullman, "The Basic-Service Ratio and the Areal Support of Cities," *Proceedings, Western Committee on Regional Economic Analysis of the Social Science Research Council, University of California*, June 25-27, 1953, pp. 54, 110-123, as cited in *Ibid.* See also George K. Zipf, *Human behavior and the Principles of Least Effort* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1949). Ronald Freedman *et al.* expresses the relationship somewhat differently. They say, "In very small populations the division of labor rests largely on age and sex differences. . . . There are not enough age and sex differences to fully represent the numerous functional distinctions that develop in a large population. Specialization based upon attitude is more important in large population groups." *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), pp. 210-211.

13. Paul Meadows, "The Industrial Way of Life," *Technology Review*, March 1946, as quoted in Form and Miller *op. cit.*, p. 44.

14. Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. I, p. 364 cited and quoted in Ferdinand Toennies, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

15. Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 338.

16. Bureaucracies with norms of social relations typed on the right pole of Figure 2, may be characterized as having the following five features: 1) A hierarchy of status-roles, 2) Remuneration of members by fixed salaries related to competence or achievement in terms of the end and norms of the system, 3) The status-role in the organization is a primary one of the incumbent, 4) Members are subject to coercive discipline articulated to the hierarchy of status-roles, and 5) Socialization (indoctrination and training) processes result in a high degree of internalization of ends, norms, beliefs and sentiments of the system.

17. Earl O. Heady and Joseph Ackerman, Farm Adjustment Problems: Their Cause and Nature and Their Importance to Sociologists in *Rural Sociology in a Changing Economy*, North-Central Regional Rural Sociology Committee, (Urbana, Ill.: Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois, 1958), p. 3. See also by the same authors, "Farm Adjustment Problems and Their Importance to Sociologists," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 1959, pp. 315ff.

18. Wilbert E. Moore in a letter to the author. See also Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change Based on Observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), Ch. 2.

19. L. C. Freeman and Robert F. Winch, "Societal Complexity: An Empirical Test of a Typology of Societies," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 62, No. 5, p. 464.

20. Edward Rose and Gary Willoughby, "Cultural Profiles and Emphasis," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 63, No. 5, March 1958, p. 478.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 484.

22. Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 28.

23. William Form and Delbert Miller, *Industry, Labor, and the Community*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

24. T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 71.

25. See Leslie A. White, "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 50, No. 3, Part 1, July-September, 1948, pp. 416-435; E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), chapters 3, 12, and 13; and Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 306.

26. For a further discussion see George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, *Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955). Also see Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *op. cit.*, Chapters 1, 6 and 7. See also Dorrian Apple, "The Social Structure of Grandparenthood," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, No. 4, August 1956, pp. 656ff.

27. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 204.

28. See, for example, Nancy C. Morse and Robert Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, April, 1955, pp. 191-198; George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 112; Ronald Freedman, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 459; and Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1951), pp. 139-142 and 275-281.

29. Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 149.

30. Erving Goffman, "Embarrassment and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXII, No. 3, Nov. 1956, pp. 268-269. R. M. MacIver expresses the relative primacy of sentiment in Gemeinschaft-like or primary as versus Gesellschaft-like or secondary groups. "The face-to-face group depends upon the congeniality of the members. The large association puts other requirements first." *Society* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941), p. 246.

31. Georg Simmel, "Die Grossstaedte und das Geistesleben," *Die Grossstadt*, edited by Theodor Petermann (Dresden, 1903), pp. 187-206.

32. Morris Janowitz, "The Imagery of the Urban Community Press," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *Cities and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, c1957), p. 603.

33. Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

34. Emile Durkheim, *Suicide, A Study in Sociology*, translated by J. A. Spaulding and George Simpson with an introduction by George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 171-216. See also Charles P. Loomis, "The Relation of Bombing to Suicides" and "Factors Related to Voting Behavior and Suicide in the Cities of Pre-War Germany" in *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1950), pp. 164-170, 171-180.

35. *Ibid.*

36. "To the extent to which the behavior of members is co-ordinated with the requirements of its norms, the group possesses a mode of integration which may be called normative." Ronald Freedman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

37. Horace Miner, *St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), ch. 8.

38. William J. Goode, *Religion Among the Primitives* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 33. Levy uses the terms somewhat differently but also provides a historical treatment of them as well. Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 53ff. and p. 77.

39. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), p. 507. This is a summarization of Max Weber's position. See *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundriss der Sozialökonomik* (Tübingen, 1925), pp. 128, 660.

40. Alvin W. Gouldner, "Red Tape as a Social Problem," in Robert K. Merton *et al.* (eds.), *Reader in Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952), p. 410.

41. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated from the French by George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952), Bk. I, ch. 5. Durkheim reviewed the 1887 edition of Toennies' classic, *Community and Society—Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft in Revue Philosophique*, Vol. 27, 1889, pp. 416ff. Four years later in his own *Division of Labor*, the concepts *mechanical solidarity* and *organic solidarity* appeared. See Ferdinand Toennies, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 and 279 for a comment on this by the present author.

42. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 406. Richard T. Morris developed a typology of norms based upon: 1) distribution, 2) enforcement, 3) transmission, and 4) conformity. From the typology he finds "absolute norm" compatible with the first term and "conditional norm" with the second term in the folk-urban typology of Redfield, sacred-secular of Becker and Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft of Toennies. "A Typology of Norms," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 5, October 1956, pp. 610-613.

43. E. Franklin Frazier, "The Impact of Urban Civilization Upon Negro Family Life," Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 499.

44. Paul Hatt and Albert Reiss, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

45. Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1939), p. 48.

46. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 56.

47. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

48. Max Weber, *General Economic History*, translated by Frank Knight (New York: Greenberg, 1927), p. 355.

49. Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 163.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

51. Marion Levy makes an important observation in this regard: "The industrial society must . . . stress 'universalistic' criteria for employment and 'functionally specific' relations. The primitive society need not and commonly does not do so." *Structure of Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

52. See Charles P. Loomis, "Systematic Linkages of El Cerrito, New

Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 1, March 1959, pp. 54-57; Robert Redfield, *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Charles P. Loomis and John C. McKinney, *op. cit.*

53. Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor, op. cit.*, p. 303. Barnett lends support to Moore's theme but places more emphasis upon the individual. "A new idea or a new behavior is specific to a given individual . . . conditions external to the individual have a marked effect upon his innovative potential . . . Einstein could scarcely have developed his theory of relativity had he lived in the Neolithic age, nor could the atomic bomb have been invented in the days of Newton. The cultural base must provide the materials for further development. If the necessary ingredients are not contained in the inventory that is available, a new idea involving them is obviously impossible." H. G. Barnett, *Innovation: the Basis of Cultural Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953), pp. 39-40. Chapter 2 of this work deals with external conditions favorable to innovation.

54. See F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), p. 549; William Caudill and George De Vos, "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, No. 6, Dec. 1956, pp. 1102-1126; and Mary Ellen Goodman, "Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 6, Dec. 1957, pp. 979-998. See also Talcott Parsons, *Structure of Social Action, op. cit.*, p. 553 and E. C. Devereux, Jr., "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft," cited in *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553.

55. Talcott Parsons, *Structure of Social Action, op. cit.*, p. 556. The communists in modern China activated the nation as a power and reference system.

56. Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor, op. cit.*, p. 303.

57. Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, *Modern Sociological Theory, op. cit.*, ch. 6.

58. Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Aspects of Modernization in Turkey and Japan," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 64, No. 1, July, 1958, p. 1. See also, Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion—The Values of Pre-industrial Japan* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957); Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956) and Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, eds. *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957). Harry W. Pearson in the latter publication, besides joining the editors in noting the time-bound nature of most studies of markets as "economizing" behavior, notes that Parsons and Smelser "by . . . joining a formal category of action, economizing, with an empirical entity, the economy, [appear to] have committed a fateful error. Inevitably, the economy tends to be identified with its market form." *Ibid.*, p. 313. He also notes that "the temptation to reify the purely analytical categories is apparently too great to be resisted." *Ibid.*, p. 315. An advantage of the PAS Model of the present volume is the lesser temptation it makes for this "fateful error." If it is made, forgiveness is solicited.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

61. *Ibid.*
62. Meyer Weinberg and Oscar E. Shabat, *Society and Man* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956), p. 173.
63. Ronald Freedman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 204ff.
64. William Form and Delbert Miller, *Industry and the Community*, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.
65. Robert Bierstedt, *The Social Order* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957), pp. 371-372.
66. Quoted in Fredrick L. Nussbaum, *A History of the Economic Institutions of Modern Europe* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1935), p. 379. See also Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 179-180.
67. Lincoln Armstrong and Gordon K. Hirabayashi, "Social Differentiation in Selected Lebanese Villages," *American Sociological Review*, Aug. 1956, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 425-434.
68. Charles P. Loomis *et al.*, (eds.), *Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 43-49.
69. Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class," (New York: Mentor edition, The New American Library, 1953), p. 66.
70. Helen Codere, "Kwakiutl Society: Rank Without Class," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 3, June 1957, pp. 473-486. See also for a classless peasant community Charles P. Loomis, *Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change*, *op. cit.*, ch. 3.
71. Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April, 1945, p. 242-249. Walter Buckley, "Social Stratification and the Functional Theory of Social Differentiation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 36ff. William H. Sewell, Archie O. Haller, and Murray A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1957, Vol. 22, No. 1, Feb., pp. 67-73.
72. W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1940), p. 168. Also see Joseph Kahl and J. A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Sociometric Status," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3, June, 1955, pp. 317-325.
73. As Wilbert E. Moore writes, "Economic development of various primitive and agrarian economies will produce greater similarity among world cultures." "Creation of a Common Culture," in *Confluence*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 232-233. See also Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 61, No. 4, January 1956, pp. 329, 339 and Edward A. Tiryakian, "The Prestige Evaluation of Occupations in an Underdeveloped Country: The Philippines," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 63, No. 4, January 1958, pp. 390-399.
74. Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2, April, 1953, pp. 149ff.
75. John Useem, "The Changing Structure of a Micronesian Society," in Lyle W. Shannon, *Underdeveloped Areas—A Book of Readings and Research* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957), p. 34.
76. *Ibid.*

77. The theme of level of aspiration so central to socio-economic mobility reoccurs frequently, for example, in many of the readings included in Lyle W. Shannon, *ibid.*

78. Melvin M. Tumin and Arnold S. Feldman, "Status, Perspective and Achievement: Education and Class Structure in Puerto Rico," *American Sociological Review*, August 1956, Vol. 21, No. 4, p. 465.

79. Talcott Parsons, "Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), p. 411.

80. National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: a Popular Evaluation," in *ibid.*, p. 411.

81. William Form and Delbert Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

82. Based on plans developed originally by Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North. No large segment of population of any average city could be comprised of the top nine occupations for which ratings were given: U. S. Supreme Court Justice, physician, state governor, cabinet member in the federal government, diplomat in the U. S. Foreign Service, mayor of a large city, college professor, scientist, United States Representative in Congress.

83. Donald E. Wray, *Labor Management Relations in Illini City*, "The Community and Labor-Management Relations," Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations (University of Illinois, 1953). See also William Form and Delbert Miller, *op. cit.*, II, 35ff. E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

84. Gideon Sjoberg, "The Preindustrial City," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Cities and Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

85. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 163.

86. National Resources Committee, "The Structure of Controls," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 136.

87. Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 61, No. 5, March, 1956, pp. 413-419.

88. James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 4, Jan. 1953, pp. 364-370.

89. Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure. A Community Organization: Action and Inaction* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: N. C. University Press, 1953).

90. Frank P. Zeidler, "Urbanism and Government, 1957-1977," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 314, Nov. 1957, p. 76.

91. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

92. R. M. MacIver has well characterized the two types. "The menace of the first kind [Gemeinschaft] lies in the omnipresence of personal authority, from which, when it is harsh or overbearing, the sub-ordinated individuals cannot hide any aspect of their lives. The menace of the second kind [Gesellschaft] arises particularly from the separation of the authority of it, so that its inner working is hidden from him," *op. cit.*, p. 246.

93. Melvin Seeman, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, August, 1953, pp. 373ff.

American school administrators are torn between treating their subordinates as equals and enjoying the prestige of their positions; between achieving goals on the one hand and conforming to norms or "process on the other."

94. John Useem, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
95. Sylvia Kopald Selekman and Benjamin M. Selekman, *Power and Morality in a Business Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 63-64.
96. Harry E. Barnes, *The Story of Punishment* (Boston: Stratford Co., 1930), ch. I.
97. Gideon Sjoberg, "The Preindustrial City" Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 180.
98. Edwin H. Sutherland, "White Collar-Criminality," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Feb., 1940, pp. 1-12.
99. McKim Marriott, "Technological Change in Overdeveloped Rural Areas," in Lyle W. Shannon, *op. cit.*, p. 428.
100. Edward C. Banfield, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
101. National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 419.
102. Walter O. Cralle, "Social Changes and Isolation in the Ozark Mountain Region of Missouri," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 4, Jan., 1936, pp. 435-446.
103. Stanley A. Freed, "Suggested Type Societies in Acculturation Studies," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 1, Feb. 1957, pp. 55-68. For an important treatment of the function of the stranger in social change see Howard Becker, "Individuation and Population Movement," in Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932), pp. 319ff.
104. Detroit Area Study, *A Social Profile of Detroit, 1956* (Ann Arbor: Department of Sociology and the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1957), p. 11.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
106. Walter Firey, "Ecological Considerations in Planning for Rurban Fringes," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 801-802. Firey cites Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, London, 1915, pp. 40, 219-220, 308.
107. Taken from Form and Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
108. Frank Tannenbaum, "Technology and Race in Mexico," in Lyle W. Shannon, *op. cit.*, p. 162-163.
109. Edward M. Bruner, "Differential Culture Changes: Report on the Interuniversity Summer Research Seminar, 1956," *Social Science Research Council Items*, Vol. 11, No. 1, March, 1957, p. 3. This purposefully over simplified illustration of systemic linkage illustrates the importance of ascertaining the relations between the elements and processes of systems in contact.
110. David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).
111. David Lynch, "The Economic Setting," in Richard Carlton Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson (eds.), *Roots of Political Behavior: Introduction to Government and Politics* (New York: American Book Co., 1949), pp. 341-342.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

113. Among authors who develop this theme are: Adolph A. Berle, "The Modern Corporation: Separation of Ownership and Control," in Richard Carlton Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-3 and Stephen Raushenbush, "The Corporation: An Institutional Factor in Modern History," in *ibid.*, p. 365.

114. Robert S. Lynd, "The Myth of Diffused Power," in Richard Carlton Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 370.

115. Stephen Raushenbush, "The Corporation: An Institutional Factor in Modern History," in Richard Carlton Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 366-7.

116. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, pp. 393ff. Merton states that "these terms were adopted from Carle C. Zimmerman, who uses them as translations of Toennies' well-known distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (localistic) and *Gesellschaft* (cosmopolitan)" in *The Changing Community* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938), pp. 80ff.

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120. Bert F. Hoselitz, "The City, The Factory, and Economic Growth," in Paul Hatt and Albert Reiss, *op. cit.*, p. 553.

121. James S. Plant, "The Personality and an Urban Area," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 648ff.

122. A. R. Magnus, "Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children," in *ibid.*, p. 680ff.

123. Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *ibid.*, pp. 638-9.

124. George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* edited by Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 178-9.

125. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

126. John and Ruth Useem, "Social Stresses and Resources Among Middle Management Men," E. Gartly Jaco, ed., *Patients, Physicians and Illness* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 83. This study does not attempt to measure "adjustment" or "stress" as absolutes unrelated to pertinent systems, as is frequently done.

127. Svend Reimer, *The Modern City* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1955), pp. 209-10. Reimer gives Kurt Lewin credit for this conceptualization.

128. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology, The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), ch. 2, pp. 27-28.

129. Heberle contributed an independent explanation of the emergence of the type described in terms of mobility which made it impossible for the individual to have the security necessary to develop inner-directed personalities because of the destruction of the *Gemeinschaft*. Rudolph Heberle, "A Note on Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 62, No. 1, July, 1956, pp. 34ff. See George Homans, *The Human Group*, *op. cit.*, p. 280 for a different interpretation of what appear to be similar phenom-

ena. Such independent convergences are common in science and very important. Robert Merton cites Newton's remark, "If I have seen farther it is by standing on the shoulders of giants," *Social Theory and Social Research*, *op. cit.*, p. 558. Howard Becker writes, "We do stand on the shoulders of our forerunners, and we consequently see farther, in many important directions, than they conceivably could." "Vitalizing Sociological Theory," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4, August 1954.

130. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
131. Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 239.
132. William Form and Delbert Miller, *op. cit.*
133. Beverly Duncan, "Intra-Urban Population Movement," in Paul Hatt and Albert Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 304.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
135. Wilbert E. Moore, "Creation of a Common Culture," *Confluence*, Vol. 4, p. 235.
136. William H. Whyte, Jr., "The Organization Man" (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1957), p. 297.
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ESSAY 3

SOCIAL SYSTEMS UNDER STRESS— DISASTERS AND DISRUPTION

Most social systems are provided with mechanisms that function to prevent disruption from stress. The efficiency of the safeguards affects the amount of suffering and death as well as the speed with which the "normal" social system can be re-established after extraordinary periods of disaster or disruption. Those who attach no great importance to the persistence of social systems might reflect upon the four or five major totalitarian states to be established in recent times. Each of these came into being largely through violence and, in the case of Russia and China, through the utilization of disaster by revolutionaries. Although the disruption fomented by violence, agitation, and revolution is not the focal point of this essay, it will become clear that the art, practice, and application of violence at a critical juncture can be most highly successful when the revolutionary and disruptive design is not understood or is not considered important.¹ Whether from such contrived disruption or from other causes, the toll in lives, property, and human suffering during periods of stress warrants an examination of the phenomena.²

DEFINITION

Disasters and systemic disruptions occur when the social organization and units of a considerable segment of society cease to function. Generally whole communities are involved; but dis-

aster, as the term is used in this essay, may be said to exist whenever collective and individual actions that were previously structured and made predictable by the elements and processes are made unpredictable by the impact of either external or internal forces. The Red Cross defines as disasters "those situations of distress involving five or more families."³ As the term is used in this essay anything that prevents groups—be they families, labor unions, communities or other organizations—from carrying out their normal functions is a disaster. By this definition, the impact of a given external force is not a determining factor. In urban Germany during World War II, whole communities were so organized that bombardment became a part of existence. Fleeing to bomb shelters became a part of life. Fire control, management of debris, protection and repair of communication and utilities, and the handling of the dead and injured became routine. In military operations, too, disaster occurs only when the organization deteriorates so that attack, defense, and retreat are not controlled and predictable.

TYPES AND PHASES OF DISASTER

Carr compares disasters in terms of their duration and geographical spread.⁴ According to this differentiation the following types emerge in four cells.

| DURATION | FOCUS | |
|----------|---------------------|----------------|
| | <i>Concentrated</i> | <i>Diffuse</i> |
| Short | Tornado Bombing | Hurricane * |
| Long | Flood | Siege |

* Especially when there is no warning and no preparation.

In this classification economic depressions and such epidemics as the Black Plague fall in the cell at the lower right. Revolutions and civil wars are classified by their length and spread.

For convenience disasters may be viewed in three stages—pre-disaster, disaster, and post-disaster—with the community as

TABLE 1

EVALUATIONS OF SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS BY BEECHER RESIDENTS *

| Organizations | Evaluations | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|-------|
| | Non-Evaluative | Positive | Negative | Total |
| State Police | 49 | 19 | 5 | 73 |
| Sheriff's Department | 8 | 1 | — | 9 |
| Flint Police | 7 | 2 | — | 9 |
| Detroit Police | 14 | 1 | 4 | 19 |
| Police in general | 14 | 4 | 4 | 22 |
| Other police | 9 | — | — | 9 |
| National Guard | 41 | 13 | 2 | 56 |
| Beecher Volunteer Fire Dept. | 56 | 37 | — | 93 |
| Flint Fire Department | 3 | 1 | — | 4 |
| Other volunteer fire depts. | 15 | 8 | — | 23 |
| Volunteer firemen in general | 5 | 9 | — | 14 |
| Red Cross | 101 | 34 | 49 | 184 |
| Salvation Army | 63 | 45 | 2 | 110 |
| Old newsboys | 18 | 18 | — | 36 |
| Boy Scouts | 10 | 4 | — | 14 |
| Civil Defense | 7 | — | — | 7 |
| Construction firms | 9 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| Utility companies | 11 | 2 | — | 13 |
| Red Feather | 12 | 2 | 5 | 19 |
| Church and church personnel | 15 | 7 | — | 22 |
| Hospitals and hospital personnel | 7 | 2 | — | 9 |
| Lodges, fraternal organizations | 5 | 2 | — | 7 |
| County Road Commission | 20 | 9 | — | 29 |
| Other organizations | 25 | 54 | 5 | 84 |
| Total responses | 524 | 275 | 78 | 877 |

* Source: William Form and Sigmund Nosow with Gregory P. Stone and Charles M. Westie, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

the focal system. The elements and processes of social systems obviously function as usual in the pre-disaster or "steady state" stage. Fathers carry on as fathers, policemen as policemen, firemen as firemen, ministers and priests as ministers and priests—all in their respective social systems. It is at the second stage, when

disaster strikes, and some parts of the structured whole cease to function normally, that a new social system develops. Insofar as the previously existing elements and processes are preserved, enabling old systems to function, disaster is minimized. A remarkably large number of the characteristics of the pre-disaster social system can remain unchanged.

The father is expected to play a rescue role whether his child is hurt as a result of a bicycle accident or a tornado. A fireman is expected to fight "an ordinary" fire or one caused by a bombing. The police also represent authority whether there is a routine disruption of the community or an extensive one.⁵

It generally is not true, as is so widely believed, that collective and individual actions immediately become unstructured and unpredictable.

Form and Nosow have divided the disaster stage into three phases. "1) Spontaneous enactment of emergency roles on the part of individuals, 2) the mobilization of local or community agencies formally constituted to deal with emergencies, and 3) the mobilization of agencies and resources external to the community."⁶ Table 1 lists the major organizations that participated in the Flint-Beecher tornado of 1953 resulting in 927 casualties, 116 of which were deaths. Before the organizations listed in Table 1 had begun their work, however, the families, cliques, and spontaneously organized groups performed emergency roles. The Beecher Fire Department members first of all acted as fathers, brothers, and friends in rescue work but then assumed their organizational roles of the Fire Department. The outstanding agency in phase three was the State Police. Because of their superior communication facilities, organizational stability, experience, and many other factors, they took over the most important formal organizational functions in the disaster.

The post-disaster stage is reached as the emergency nature of the total situation begins to fade. Agencies such as the Red Cross, with longer term rehabilitation goals, become more dominant in this phase during which activities are more likely to be ordered and formal. Jobs left undone by some of the quickly set up emergency agencies are likely to be turned over to the more permanent agencies at this time.

SELECTION OF AN ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Quite a number of models for the study of disaster are in use. Among these is the cybernetic conceptualization of communication employed by Harry Williams.⁷ Anthony F. C. Wallace uses a combined psychological and cultural approach with the model of what he calls the "disaster syndrome" based on a "cultural maze-way" in which he sees "physical objects external to the individual's perceptive apparatus, including natural objects, elements of material culture, and human bodies as constituting a 'maze,' which presents the individual with cues."⁸ This scrambling of the personality system with the social system and the environment may assist in the understanding of disasters, but it is doubtful that it can advance social science. The models of William H. Form and Harry E. Moore, who employ more sociological approaches, are closer to the model used by the present author. Gordon Blackwell has used game theory which may also be fitted into the model used here. Although all these and other models for the study of disaster may be articulated to the model presented in these essays, the author hopes in the following paragraphs to demonstrate the value of a model that combines process as well as structural units in systemic analysis. Any element or process or combination of elements and processes may vary and, other things being equal, results may be compared and analyzed. If the natives on Yap have different beliefs concerning disasters than do other groups that are otherwise the same, insights concerning the function of cognition may be studied. If Mexicans rely more upon friends and relatives in the evaluation of warnings than do Americans and if the societies are otherwise the same so far as the elements and processes are concerned, (a dubious assumption) we may proceed with further investigation of the significance of this difference. No attempt will be made to test specific hypotheses here. The objective is rather that of demonstrating the utility of the conceptual scheme for preliminary description and codification of findings.

ELEMENTS AND PROCESSES OF DISASTER SYSTEMS

KNOWING

Belief (knowledge) as an element. In areas frequented by various disaster producing phenomena the cognitive aspect of action is important indeed. What kinds of clouds and what kinds of weather are associated with tornadoes? What are suitable shelters for tornadoes? A great body of lore, part true and part untrue, accumulates in the tornado belts. Likewise, under bombardment knowledge of great importance for survival soon becomes available.

Societies vary in the extent to which they think it possible or desirable for man to control the environment. Thus it may be hypothesized that *ideational* societies which have fatalistic strains in their culture may be expected to develop fewer protective measures than will those *sensate* societies which attempt to control the environment; although all societies take some measures to protect their members from disasters. Even in the most sensate or "activistic" American community there will be some who assume a fatalistic stance when confronted with disaster. However, it must be admitted that not enough is known about the function of belief in disaster and disruption and that many beliefs change under disaster's impact.

Sorokin's profound contribution to the understanding of crises, disasters, and disturbances of all sorts has too often been overlooked. His work suggests that societies with sensate cultures are organized about the belief that true reality and value is sensory, and that little of importance exists which cannot be perceived by the sense organs. Societies with ideational cultures, on the contrary, hold the belief that the true value is the super-sensory, super-rational being and existence, and that the sensory is of much less reality and importance. If modern industrial societies are considered sensate or *Gesellschaft*-like, many more primitive societies of more *Gemeinschaft*-like or ideational cultures may react differently to disaster.⁹

For example, in discussing the reaction of natives on the island of Yap, David Schneider writes;

. . . the catastrophies—sorcery included here—are brought on by a magician when he has been ordered to do so by some chief. . . . A typhoon is, therefore, a punishment meted out to the people by some chief whom they have neglected to heed. . . . A typhoon on Yap is, therefore, supernaturally determined, but its presence is the result of some human's action on these supernaturals. . . . We build tornado cellars. . . . On Yap it is otherwise. . . . A bit of magic may protect any individual from being struck by flying materials even though other individuals have, by magic, brought the typhoon.¹⁰

Cognitive mapping and validation as process. Much of the reported shock and passivity of disaster victims is what has been called “orienting” or “structuring activity.” When the customary points of reference are destroyed, people attempt to map the situation cognitively. The usually available reference groups are important in this process. Actors in the impact area, if not physically or otherwise incapacitated, have their work cut out for them and their status-roles and normative orientation compel them to particular patterns of action. The typical pattern involves first establishing the whereabouts and condition of kin. In the Flint-Beecher tornado:

The victims, who were uninjured or who had but minor injuries, defined their first task as helping those who were of most concern to them. Their earliest activities were looking for and aiding specific family members, friends, and neighbors. In cases where family members, friends and neighbors were unhurt, other types of activity emerged first. People tended to look around and appraise what had happened. They took stock of property damage, but usually did not stop there. They began looking for victims whether they knew them or not. They performed first aid, transported victims to aid stations. . . . The feverish, purposive activities, the lack of shock, and the constructive organizing behavior of both victims and rescuers are difficult to conceive.¹¹

One of the greatest errors in the cognitive mapping of rescue activities in the early phases of disaster is the failure to screen those who need first-aid treatment from those who do not. “The dead, seriously injured, and the slightly injured were transported indiscriminately except that the ambulatory . . . often . . . [attempted] to reach the nearest hospital ‘under their own power.’” This lack of evaluation along with the compulsive speed and hurry with which people work indicates why seldom as many as

ten per cent of those arriving at hospitals have received first aid treatment.¹²

In the case of warnings of approaching floods, tornadoes, hurricanes, or enemy bombers, cognitive mapping is crucial. Without a relatively effective warning system, to which the German population in cities responded by going to bunkers, many more casualties would have resulted from World War II. In the 1954 Rio Grande flood some 150 lives were lost in Piedras Negras, Mexico. None would have been lost if the people had heeded the warnings and correctly validated or invalidated their advance information. Although both on the United States and the Mexican sides of the flooding river, informal group discussions were the arenas for warning validation, the United States groups relied more heavily on the authenticity of agency warnings than did the Mexicans whose kinship and family group discussions tended to discount as invalid the warnings from official or quasi-official agencies. Like the Mexicans in the Rio Grande flood, groups within the United States have miscalculated in their validation of warnings with the result that pockets of people have been virtually wiped out. Lower class or caste groups heard, but did not appraise as valid, disaster warnings and were not provoked into action by them.¹³ At least one authority raises the question as to whether official warnings were couched in language which really communicated urgency.¹⁴ The hostility or indifference toward officials or toward agencies which in ordinary times are not referents for certain sub-systems affects the appraisal of the disaster situation. The same information carried by a vehicle toward which there was neither indifference nor hostility, would stand a greater chance of being viewed as valid.

A striking feature of what information is considered valid and what invalid is presented during progressive days of a disaster. During the early phases there are many variations of the "factual" reports of exactly what happened. But within a few days an amazing consensus develops. The much stepped-up rate of interaction largely dealing with the disaster tends to standardize all the reports of what constituted reality. Much of the common version of fact has a sound basis to it, although statements contrary to fact can be a part of the commonly held appraisal.

FEELING

Sentiment as an element. The emotion-laden experience of a disaster produces sentiments that vary with the stage of the disaster. The initial shock or "freezing" is often a period of adjustment and orientation to the suddenly new situation. Although shock and great fear very commonly occur, these sentiments in themselves bear little relation to morale. Over half of the people in the bombed cities of Germany experienced intense fear without a lowering of their morale.¹⁵

Trauma and shock are often socially based.

We heard this awful roar. We didn't have a basement. My wife grabbed our two kids and ran for the back door. She tried to hold them close to her on the ground. But the wind jerked one of them out of her arms. They found him dead and a half mile away. They took her and the other boy to the hospital. She's almost crazy blaming herself for not holding on tighter. See the ground here. It's high. She couldn't get down low enough. It's a wonder the wind didn't take all three of them.¹⁶

Basing his observations on studies of six disasters Charles Fritz writes:

The maximum in disruption of the population is likely to occur if the disaster takes place when families and other primary group members are separated. The anxiety and concern over missing family members and intimates usually leads to desperate seeking and searching activity and considerable social disruption.¹⁷

The disabling and demoralizing effects of loss of relatives and friends as victims of the disaster is well substantiated.¹⁸ A correlate would seem to be the temporary and purposeful separating of families: ". . . the evacuation of children, particularly if they were sent long distances from their families, had the most adverse effect on morale."¹⁹

The integrative effects of sentiment should not be overlooked. Spontaneously composed teams of rescuers and aides impelled by motives of sympathy and concern accomplish seemingly impossible tasks. In the Flint-Beecher tornado of 1953, groups of people, primarily from the area of impact, "rescued" most of 927 casualties from the debris in drenching rain and darkness within

three or four hours of the tornado's impact.²⁰ For western industrialized societies, at least, there is little support for the "commonly held stereotype that in the wake of disasters people . . . become hostile and irritable, engage in irrational aggressive acts against authorities, or heap blame for the disaster on innocent victims. . . ." Charles Fritz comments on this as follows:

Much of the literature suggests the notion that scapegoating or the assessment of blame is a sort of automatic by-product of disasters or crises. . . . We have not found widespread or intense hostile feelings or aggressive actions in any of the disasters that we have investigated, including the "man-made" ones. Persons who experience the most intense losses and deprivations frequently exhibit no feelings of resentment or aggression.

The net result of most disasters is a dramatic increase in social solidarity among the affected populace during the emergency and immediate post-emergency period [and there may result] a breakdown of pre-existing social distinctions and a great outpouring of love, generosity, and altruism.²¹

As the second phase of the disaster stage commences, group solidarity usually begins to increase. Anthony Wallace has likened this swelling solidarity feeling to the revitalization movements "which as it institutionalizes, frequently effects massive reforms. An aura of euphoria, of brotherly love, of altruistic endeavor usually surrounds the movement during its early phases, although it may quickly sour into witch-hunting and militant defensiveness."²² Charismatic leaders may function in such movements.

Thus an internal pattern of interaction accompanied by mounting solidarity is observable in the afflicted area at the time the second phase becomes operative: the arrival of community agencies set up in pre-disaster times for the purpose of coping with such emergencies. To the extent that these agencies are structured in a *Gesellschaft*-like fashion, articulating an external pattern of interaction they may be met with apathy or with criticism by the now solidary, internally-patterned, disaster-ridden system. The disparity between the interaction *expectations* of the internally-patterned group and the newcomers, whether they be the local community agencies that operate in the second phase of disaster or the outside agencies of the third phase, is revealed

at every turn. Agencies that employ the professionalized and *Gesellschaft*-like criteria of needs for making rehabilitation grants, for example, obviously cannot, except within narrow limits, interact in an affective, functionally diffuse, and particularistic manner. It is instructive to note that the negative appraisals of agency help as shown in Table 1 are low for agencies such as the Salvation Army whose method of operation traditionally relies on "universal service without question." "The difference as *felt* by the populations served is one of love as against professionalized social service."²³ This is true despite the point that Harry Moore makes "that the means test or the need test used by the Red Cross is in strict accordance with our American ethic."²⁴ The professional worker from the bureaucratic structure which is set up to handle disaster must, in time, find disaster commonplace. He would find it difficult if not personally undesirable to try to be affectively linked to a never-ending procession of disaster victims. Understandable as is his lack of emotional involvement, so too are the disaster victims' complaints that, while they waited in line to register, professional workers "laughed and joked as if they didn't care that people had died."²⁵

Tension management and communication of sentiment as process. The management of tension in the disaster-ridden social system may be crucial for survival but very difficult to achieve. Compared to the structured, relatively undisturbed, predictable interrelations of every day life, the society is torn asunder, profoundly disturbed, made unpredictable, and saturated with tensions. Moreover, many of the tensions that are conceived in startling suddenness, cannot possibly have specific, ready-made institutional antidotes. However badly the system is shattered, short of annihilation, structured status-roles of the pre-disaster period soon assume management of some of the tensions, and hastily created status-roles borne of the disaster period perform the same function. These devices will be discussed more fully under *status-role*, both as an element and as a process. To the extent that the chief integrative social systems of the pre-disaster period survive, some tension management is likely to be handled through their services. Thus the religious system eases tension by the rites of passage for the dead and rites of intensification for the distressed.

Indicative of the need for tension management is the common compulsion toward activity. This behavior is reminiscent of Parsons' observations on the tensions and sentiments related to the uncertainty and incurability of certain medical cases resulting in a "bias in favor of operating" or other action. He likens this to Pareto's "need to manifest sentiments by external acts."²⁶ "We know that in the early stages of disaster, rescuers, helpers, and officials feel a great urgency to act—to *do* something."²⁷ This compulsive activity is accompanied by what has been called the "speed mania." "The drivers were obsessed with the notion that great speed made for greater likelihood of recovery. Few casualties were reported in shock at the time they were placed in vehicles, whereas many were in shock upon arrival at the hospital."²⁸

The sentiments coalesce a considerable time after the events that precipitate the sentiments. The listener hears weird, bizarre, and horrifying stories: the bus driver who was hampered in helping the passengers by his almost severed, dangling thumb which he tried to bite off; the automobile that shot up in the air and descended with a woman's body draped across it, landing without even blowing a tire.²⁹ An objective view of the situation may be gained by attempting to see the event in the context of general disaster, where, within seconds, one social system vanishes and a new one is created, a new social system in which, after a short reconnaissance, a compelling new end or objective suddenly unites the chance members and forces them into action. The dangling thumb and the sudden appearance of a draped body were at the time of occurrence actually incidental to the goal-directed situation. To recount, in a near-normal setting, that such things were incidental, easily establishes and preserves the myth that disaster participants become brutish, turn to looting, and are generally without feeling.

When the backwash of the disastrous events are finally seen in retrospect by the participant, and as he interacts at a high rate with other participants on the constant theme of the disaster, the burden of sentiment assumes great proportions. It may be precisely because the burden is so overwhelming and because the tension-management devices are so unspecific and undeveloped that the internal pattern functions night and day to drain off the

disturbances of individuals. The internal pattern thus becomes a tension-management mechanism. Anyone who has visited a disaster area within a few days after the disaster can testify to the onerous burden that is communicated to anyone who will listen. Later the doleful sentiments are sometimes communicated by improvised songs in cultures like the Mexican in which artistic and expressive activity is great; where expressive activity is more limited, as in the United States, it pours forth in the re-tellings of the tale.

ACHIEVING

End, goal, and objective as element. It is illuminating to contrast the ends of the disaster-affected area in terms of the three-stage sequence. In the pre-disaster stage each of the community's groups pursues its own objective; usually there is little conscious recognition of mutual interrelations and the convergence of the various ends on the community level is haphazard. Some of the sub-systems are variously related to each other in internal patterns of friendship, hostility, neighborliness, or casual social interaction. Others are related in external patterns and may be articulated by a common power figure or by separate stakes in a common objective, or by some other means.³⁰ The convergence of ends, nonetheless, is spotty. The most immediate change in this picture occurs among those sub-systems hit by the disaster. Almost immediately after the periods of reorientation and of checking on family and close friends, the participant finds himself, along with random others to be a part of a new social system with the compelling objective of rescuing and aiding. This new system is characterized by an external pattern of interaction because above all it is highly purposive. Very soon it displays new interaction patterns brought into being by the exhilaration of shared work toward a highly valued common goal and sustained by intense and prolonged interaction at a task which by its very nature involves sentiments. Even when stages two and three of the disaster bring in the community and outside agencies set up to deal with emergencies the objective is a common, urgent and highly valued one for most actors and the new disaster system is consequently extended in an external pattern. The same forces—principally the flow of sentiment fostered by the nature of the goal and sustained

by the high rate of interaction—envelop the extended system strengthening its internal pattern. The articulation of the two elements, *sentiment* and *end*, are thus reciprocal stimulants to the condition of intense solidarity which becomes the property of the entire community. As noted above this is a common characteristic of new disaster systems.

As the third stage of disaster comes into prominence, what has been called the “halo effect” of the very generally shared goal coupled with a satisfying internal interaction pattern, lingers so that the heightened community solidarity can be noted well into the rehabilitation stage. As an increasing number of the agencies find that their services are no longer necessary the common goal exists for fewer and fewer people; the rate of interaction subsides to a near-normal state, and soon the whole community reverts to the post-disaster state which in many respects is similar to the pre-disaster state.

Goal attaining and concomitant “latent” activity as process. Fulfilling the manifest goal—rescue work, the relief of suffering, and the rehabilitation of the devastated community— involves a great many varied activities, some of which are suggested by the selected list of participant organizations active in one disaster as presented in Table 1.³¹ Although there is a wealth of material on these activities and the manner in which they are performed their examination is not particularly fruitful for the purposes of this essay. The less obvious “latent” activities, however, deserve brief treatment. Two such activities will be touched upon: “latent” activity which confers rank or status and “latent” activity which assists in raising funds.

Disaster often is a very visible phenomenon; for its duration and for some time thereafter it tends to dominate the news of the immediate and adjacent environs, and even is news to far removed sections of the world. To be prominent in a disaster is for a brief time to “be somebody.” To have even a small part in goal fulfillment is “to be in the know” and to have a large part is to be central in a very central situation. It has been reported that participants who have made solid contributions to goal attainment, vie with each other for claims to have been there first or to have carried out important missions. Generous offers to reconstruct or to supply food generate offers of an even more generous nature.

For a time, an individual's rank is somewhat gauged by his degree of indispensability in the disaster system.

Many agencies—the Red Cross and the Red Feather Agency from Table 1 are examples—depend for their existence upon solicitations of voluntary gifts. It is inevitable that such agencies operate with one eye to the service performed and the other to the publicity given that service, for fund raising obviously is much easier at the time of disaster when need is apparent and sympathy is high. Competition among the agencies with the ulterior motive of good public relations and increased contributions does not necessarily mean a superior service geared to the needs of the stricken community.

NORMING, STANDARDIZING AND PATTERNING

Norm as an element. Severe disasters bring about a restructuring of the primacy of societal norms, although the functioning of the most basic norms generally remains unchanged. The primacy of life over caste, for example, is demonstrated in a disaster in the South where:

white helped black and black helped white. There were no distinctions in admission to hospitals; whites and Negroes lay side by side in the shock rooms, gave their blood side by side, were hospitalized in the same rooms . . . But as the third or recovery and rehabilitation stage developed three months after the tornado it was reported that the old folkways are back in full force. The policy of mixing and non-separation has now been dropped as spontaneously as it began.³²

The frequent "breakdown of pre-existing social distinctions" already noted above under *sentiment* provides many examples of normative shifts engendered by disaster.

Evaluation as a process. Both the victims and those giving aid have immediate evaluations to make at every turn. A very common course of behavior on the part of the victims is to disregard personal injuries in their attempt to help others, the first of whom are family, close friends and neighbors. Later "people in general and unnamed victims" are helped. In the first and second phases, activities were directed toward others; later, attention was directed toward the person's own needs.³³

We feel pretty sure from the San Angelo-Waco study that many of these people actually put safety of their family ahead of safety of themselves. For example, one man ruptured himself attempting to raise a section of a house to see whether or not his son had been trapped.³⁴

In distinctly rural communities concern for farm animals may take precedence over concern for people completely outside the immediate circle of family members, relatives, and friends,³⁵ although generally loss of property alone had much less effect on lowering morale than did casualties in the immediate family.³⁶

Victims also evaluate the aid given them. In general those individuals and agencies who are involved in strictly *emergency* relief measures are valued most highly. It is hypothesized that the greater the urgency for action, which if not taken will be fatal or disastrous and the fewer the alternatives to such action, the greater will be the tendency toward a high evaluation of it. The quickly dispatched and unequivocal acts such as rescuing the wounded and dying, rendering necessary medical service, applying surgery, and providing shelter, serving food, and reuniting families are contributions received with little negative criticism. The arduous and less dramatic task of providing a basis for a lasting rehabilitation is often a subject of severe criticism, sometimes because of the manner in which the rehabilitation is effected, but more often because there are many alternatives and many and conflicting evaluations of the possible choices.

One set of evaluations which must be made by numbers of disaster victims concerns housing; the alternatives open are suggested by Harry E. Moore who shows that both the movers and non-movers have evaluative judgments to make. Those who choose to move, for example, must evaluate the possibilities of renting an emergency house, of temporarily living with friends and relatives, of staying in the general vicinity of the old home, of seeking a new spot for relocation. Those who choose to stay at the old location must evaluate the possibilities of "camping out"; of living in a trailer, garage, or hastily erected lean-to; of temporarily patching up parts of the old house if it was in good enough shape. After the Waco-San Angelo disaster:

almost 85 per cent of the families were back at their old addresses, either in the houses they had occupied before the disaster or new ones built on the old sites . . . The net impression is that within little more than half a year the families who had suffered damage to their housing had returned to almost the same conditions which they were in on the afternoon of May 11, when the tornadoes swirled in on them.³⁷

Aspects of the evaluative judgments are made more difficult by an ambiguity of norms posed by the situation. For example, camping in one's back yard, which may be perfectly acceptable as an emergency measure, may in the post-emergency stage be too reminiscent of a lower-class image to be palatable to middle-class families although it nevertheless may be the most "rational" thing to do. The high percentage of "remainders" suggests a substantiation of the hypothesis that the affective internal pattern of interaction characteristic of the disaster system persists into the post-disaster period.

In the early emergency stages the following evaluative directive, evolved by the Red Cross but equally applicable to others, would be generally undisputed:

assistance is given without political, religious, or racial discrimination . . . deviation from accepted standards, such as delinquency, immorality, and the like, are not regarded as sufficient grounds for withholding assistance . . .³⁸

The preexisting normative patterns begin to be reasserted in the recovery and the post-disaster stages. If these norms specify differential treatment there may be hostility, both for the application of universalistic standards and for lacking affectivity in carrying these out. The norm which specifies that "Need and not loss is the basis upon which assistance to disaster sufferers is given through the Red Cross" is likely to cause little dissatisfaction in the early phases of disaster. Later however, the middle class may object to the "shiftless" receiving too much, indicating that the norms of the pre-disaster stage are returning.³⁹ When lengthy case work interviews are used to establish need, resentment is frequently aroused especially among lower-middle and upper-lower class people whose sense of dignity may be assaulted by pro-

cedures they consider appropriate for welfare patients but not for their class.⁴⁰

Doctors and administrative personnel in hospitals who have internalized relatively high and absolute standards are placed under the strain of conflicting and ambiguous normative evaluations when they must choose between giving partial service to many or full service to a few.

A kind of probability thinking may occur; if we abandon part of the procedure we will save X amount of time per patient; we will thus be able to treat all casualties sooner, and the net result will be better medical care for the total group of casualties.⁴¹

A higher than normal number of references to the supernatural may occur during many disasters. Janis observes that:

increased religious interest noted among the British during the air blitz was probably related to the development of fatalistic attitudes . . . Chance, logic, and statistical odds afford little opportunity for mitigation, whereas one can hope to influence a supernatural deity by means of ritual and prayer.⁴²

It seems reasonable to assume that after a disaster there may be an "intensification of religious faith."⁴³ The applicability of this assumption varies by class, and by the extent of disruption of the social systems meaningful to the affected individuals. It may be hypothesized that those who changed their religious behavior greatly may be those who suffered most from panic and shock due to conflicts in status-role, and worry about relatives and friends because of separation.⁴⁴

Under bombardment "The more actively religious cities had a lower war morale and were more willing to accept unconditional surrender than the communities less active from the religious point of view."⁴⁵ This suggests that the Nazi organizations and strongholds supported war morale whereas those oriented to different and especially to religious values did not give such active support.

DIVIDING THE FUNCTIONS

Status-role incorporating both element and process. Even during the first disaster phases and in the worst disasters recorded, expectancies of status-roles hold. Status-roles which include a

training period that inculcates a strong sense of responsibility for persons seem to contribute to a high degree of status-role persistence.

In Worcester, a bus was picked up and hurled against the side of an apartment house . . . ; the driver . . . wanted to evacuate his passengers into the building . . . but saw that he had to keep them in; he went through the bus shutting windows; then the windows all sucked out at once, the bus turned end over end and side over side in a "brown blanket" of screaming mud; he held on to the handrails so he'd be able to help his passengers as he was trained to do. . . . When the whirling stopped, the driver, his eyes grained with imbedded sand, his head lacerated with rocks, climbed out of the bus through the apartment house wall [against which the bus had been hurled] into a bedroom. . . . He got help from rescuers . . . but did not leave until police came to whom he could report and turn over his responsibility—as was his training. Toward the end of the impact, when he was helping passengers out from under seats, what annoyed him was that his thumb kept flapping in their faces; it was nearly severed, and he tried to bite it off to get it out of his way.⁴⁶

The psychologist, F. P. Kilpatrick, states that "under stress there is a tendency to isolate oneself from immediate on-going events, and hold on to a familiar stable perceptual organization." Whether or not this is always true, he makes an important sociological observation when discussing it. He says, "These findings suggest, among other things, that if people are to be drilled in actions to be taken during an emergency, the actions should be ones which will in no case be inappropriate. They also suggest that any tension-reducing mechanism, such as humor or expressive action will help to relieve this tendency toward perceptual restriction and inflexibility."⁴⁷

A variation of this theme occurred to a status-role incumbent who desperately needed to be released from his status-role but was held in it by the expectations of others. The story was related somewhat as follows:

Jinx, the clown, was performing his favorite stunt of lighting an oversized cigar which routinely "exploded" with a big bang and a puff of smoke. Today as on other days the children laughed as Jinx held up a "bloody" arm, implored help, and finally tottered to the exit. The backstage circus hands laughed as Jinx continued his act by begging

them to get him to a hospital quick. But tonight Jinx is minus his forearm, for today the explosion was real. None of the thousands of spectators believed him when he begged for help; none of the dozens of circus hands recognized that real blood streamed from his arm. No one would call an ambulance. Jinx had to do it himself, for no one wanted Jinx to be anything but a clown.

Great staying power has been attributed to the status-roles of another troupe of circus performers—the band of the Ringling Brothers Circus during its ill-fated performance in Hartford, Connecticut. The band, it is reported, saw the wisps of smoke and the first signs of unrest in the area where the great fire started. They immediately struck up “Pomp and Circumstance,” the SOS of the circus world. They valiantly continued to sound the alarm by playing this music while bleachers collapsed and holocaust raged. Less dramatic, but of the same order of phenomena, were the fathers who rushed to insure the safety of their families, the mothers who minded the children, the youth who looked to adult models; the professional firemen, policemen, and others who added stability to the unstable situation by remaining in status-roles.

Some status-roles articulated in time of disaster are not well defined. Among them are those that occur in important disaster relief agencies. The problems resulting from this situation can best be examined against a background of bureaucratic requirements.⁴⁸ They are:

1. That there be a hierarchy of status-roles
2. That members of the bureaucracy be remunerated by fixed salaries related to their competence or achievement in terms of the ends and norms of the system
3. That the status-role in the organization be the primary one for the incumbent
4. That members be subject to the coercive discipline of the organization
5. That members, through indoctrination and training, internalize to a high degree the ends, norms, beliefs, and sentiments of the system.

Most disasters involve some agencies that meet the above requirements. In the case of the air raid protection system in Nazi

Germany, all these qualifications were met. Likewise, these qualifications for its operations in law enforcement are met by the Michigan State Police which, as indicated in Table 1, received the most favorable evaluation for its activities in the Flint-Beecher tornado disaster. However, agencies that meet few of the above requirements are also found active in most disasters. To the extent that organized relief work is manned by those whose status-role definitions are ambiguous with respect to the disaster in any of the above criteria, the relief work will probably be below reasonable efficiency. However, Harry Moore has written the author as follows:

Our Waco experience was not entirely in line with what you say about effective workers. Here it was commonly agreed that the volunteer workers from within the community were badly in need of the direction supplied by military personnel. The actual system was to mix one or two soldiers in with a group of civilians. Observers such as the City Engineer agreed that this produced much better results than working either the soldiers by themselves or the civilians by themselves.

Several important relief agencies do not have a clear-cut hierarchy of status-roles. Volunteers and local administrative officers are often persons of prestige in the community, chosen to assure the availability of funds and community involvement; they may have low competence in relation to the goals of the organization. "Name" incumbents may bear official designations that have little relation to the work performed. "Real" incumbents, on the other hand, may bear the proper official designation but be handicapped in the performance of their status-roles by non-official interference on the part of volunteers who outrank them socially. In the latter instance there may be a large number of volunteers who have no particular designation of status-roles in the hierarchy but by virtue of their social rank control the initiative of action in the organization. Conditions 2, 3, 4, and 5 enumerated above are automatically non-operative when jobs are not related to ability and achievement; when the status-role is approached in a part-time, dilettante, or social-climbing manner; when a large number of the status-roles are exempt from coercive discipline; and when the elements of the system are superficially understood. All of these conditions prevail to some extent in some of the major disaster organizations.⁴⁹

RANKING

Rank as an element and the evaluation of actors. Although disaster is no respecter of rank there sometimes is a correlation between social rank and disaster incidence and damage. The conditions surrounding tenement homes, for example, invite a disaster by fire more easily than do those surrounding upper-class homes. Airplane disasters, on the other hand, give the advantage to the socially underprivileged who would presumably not be as likely to be using this mode of transportation. Moore traces the rank differential of those affected by two tornadoes:

Poorly constructed homes were much more vulnerable to destruction than were other homes, increasing the problem of moving for residents in the lower economic areas and classes.

Families who moved had certain characteristics different from those not forced to move: (1) lower family income, (2) more employment of multiple family members, (3) larger number of children per family, (4) greater probability of a disorganizing experience (death, divorce, separation) in the family history.

Those families who moved suffered greater financial loss, physical injury, and more emotional disturbance. Their disaster-caused problems included:

- 1) Greater economic loss—four times as large in Waco, twice as large in San Angelo as those families who did not move.
- 2) Added expenses of moving and establishing the family in temporary and, later, new permanent residences.
- 3) Greater loss through interruption of employment.
- 4) Less insurance protection. (This factor was offset somewhat by the aid these families received through the relief agencies.)
- 5) A larger proportion incurring debt, and the average debt incurred being larger.
- 6) More family members injured in the disasters.

Thus, we see a general picture of the most vulnerable class of families in these cities and of the greater loss and damage they suffered because of the disasters.⁵⁰

During the disaster period itself, however, social rank in the affected community is probably less differentiating than it is in the pre-disaster and post-disaster periods.

At least one aspect of rank as it flourishes in the pre-disaster stage has important consequences for the effective conduct of disaster relief. It is the major disaster organizations' dependence on the prestige figures of the community for money and community involvement. In a society with an achievement orientation like that of the United States, assignment of rank on the basis of ascription rather than competence produces latent hostility. This would be a comparatively minor matter if it did not lead to confusion in the line of command during the transactions of vital operations. There are numerous examples of high ranking community members in Red Cross, Civil Defense, or community status-roles who have hindered effective operations in disaster because of their incompetence and inexperience.

Usually a distinguishing feature of effective organization is the knowledge of the ranking system and consensus concerning it. In the Flint-Beecher disaster, for example, this was largely lacking. Although there were professional Red Cross workers on the local level, the National level staff spoke of all the local participants as "volunteers." To the local professional Red Cross Staff the term "volunteers" meant their "regulars"—their committee chairmen and members. The "regulars" however, considered themselves of different and superior rank than that of the transient volunteers. Poor communication and a low degree of solidarity was thus brought about by a faulty ranking system. Ineffective status-role identification is, of course, a concomitant of this condition.

Little has been done to investigate the effects of disaster performance on the subsequent ranking of disaster performers. Many cases are reported of actors of high rank and authority in the pre-disaster stage failing to exercise authority and leadership in the disaster system. Many persons of inconsequential rank and authority before disasters—plumbers, common laborers, semi-skilled workers, low ranking policemen, or firemen—have assumed leadership and emerged as heroes. This consideration leads logically to a consideration of power.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element and decision making and its initiation into action. It is instructive to contrast the air raid organization

operating in Germany in World War II, where considerable integration of all agencies was the rule, and the struggle for power which has marked the disaster organizations in the United States, particularly in the activities involved in the latter stages of disaster. In World War II approximately one third of Germany's population was subjected to strategic bombing. Some 305,000 were killed and 780,000 wounded. During the long period of the bombardment, an air raid protection service was developed using state and local groups, schools, research institutes, libraries, and newspapers. In each city an air raid protection chief who was usually the police commissioner coordinated local, state, and federal agencies as well as such horizontal agencies as the chamber of commerce, Labor Welfare League, Red Cross, and others. Professionalized and coordinated service was provided. More than half of the people under these conditions reported that all that was possible was done in post-raid relief activities.⁵¹ Lack of sustained disaster routine as in the United States, generates

ambiguity concerning what official or agency has the authority for certain decisions . . . absence of an agreed-upon understood division of labor among different groups and agencies . . . lack of systematic reconnaissance and other procedures for maintaining a central strategic overview of the problem; and . . . the lack of essential central co-ordinating mechanisms . . .⁵²

Moore traces the gradual emergence of control from the disorganized and uncoordinated state of the first few hours:

We had a lot of people working around and sometimes they were working on each other. In one spot we were trying to get a valve uncovered, but we had a heck of a time keeping others from throwing lumber down on top of us.

One crew [was] throwing debris and rubble into the path of another when the intention of both was to clear away obstacles.

The Mayor said that National Guardsmen, who had not had time to get into uniform and were attempting to direct traffic, were actually endangering their lives: "People . . . don't pay much attention to anybody who is not in uniform . . . But I would like to point out one thing and that is the public has a great deal of respect for a uniform and not much for anyone [else] who is trying to act in any official capacity; if he is in civilian clothes they will just run over him."

He reports on little pockets of articulated power where groups at first unorganized become systematic work teams: "in all probability, 5 men that were organized and knew who was in charge of what operation could produce better results than 20 men that were not organized. Therefore, we attempted to use organized groups [by arranging] that unattached civilian personnel were worked in with military teams wherever possible." Finally, the culmination of power articulation for the short-lived disaster system was achieved:

Social-welfare agencies in Waco placed their personnel and resources at the disposal of American Red Cross and the Salvation Army, recognized and experienced leaders in such work. Military units in the area moved in with needed supplies and men with no apparent thought of protocol. Within less than twenty-four hours a task force composed of persons from numerous federal agencies was on the scene, working as a newly created institution. Red tape was disposed of after the manner of the Gordian knot, at least for the time being. But organization was at a minimum, and the little there was, was largely confined to small work-groups and functionaries of institutions with past experience in disaster situations.⁵³

There is nothing inherent in the American scene with its variously empowered organizations that would insure such a felicitous outcome as that which emerged from the Waco disaster reported by Moore. Only the federal government has the power to order evacuation, and under the Federal Disaster Act of 1950 the President must declare that a major disaster exists in order for official national action to take place. When this is done the Federal Civil Defense Administration is responsible for coordinating the activities of all federal agencies in the disaster area and for various federal expenditures.⁵⁴ The effectiveness of Civil Defense cannot be evaluated with certainty from the various disaster studies. It is problematical whether the power mandate for overall, coordinating activities will be respected if those agencies whose activities are being coordinated are unconvinced of the responsibility of the empowered coordinating agency. In disasters that are of insufficient magnitude to be called a national disaster, the Red Cross is required by Congressional charter to act in matters of relief. Its relationship to other agencies also empowered to act by state or local statute has not been clearly defined. Other volun-

teer organizations of a quasi-official nature are also uncertain of what their relations should be to each other. This quite naturally results in attempts on the part of each separate organization to magnify its own role and to scramble for superiority of position. The poorly defined power component in the disaster and post-disaster period has led to the facetious query "Who owns the disaster?"

In one Mexican community in which a small elite maintained most of the power and a very small middle class remained relatively impotent, intense hostility developed toward those in control.⁵⁵ Convincing evidence that the power figures' activities in the threat of flood were "too little and too late" incensed the masses still further. Although as yet there is insufficient evidence to prove the point, it is hypothesized that in those so-called under-developed areas of the world with small and impotent middle classes wide scale disaster may in the latter phases result in hostility and even scapegoating directed at state and community authorities. It is further hypothesized that such settings provide optimal conditions for communist and other organized groups outside the elite governing strata to seize control. On the other hand it is interesting to note that bombardment of countries such as England, Germany, and Japan with strong middle classes created very little subversive behavior.⁵⁶ Natural disasters in these and similar societies have not produced hostility comparable to that found in Mexico.

SANCTIONING

Sanction as an element. In societies permeated by ideational and religious beliefs, ends, and norms, disasters are often considered as punishment for past violation of norms. In even the most sensate societies many believe this.

About one month following the disaster, internationally famous evangelist Billy Graham conducted a service in memory of the victims. Graham said the storm shows what God can do "if we do not repent. Out of the storm comes a message of warning to the 50 percent of Wacoans who do not attend church."⁵⁷

Sorokin's position that very few members of a social system conform with the law-norm merely to avoid its sanctions would seem

to be especially applicable in the disaster system.⁵⁸ Likewise, in the disaster system, few would perform a duty solely for the sake of a reward. No reward system exists for that part of the rescue work that is done immediately and spontaneously after the "dazed" time for cognitive reconnoitering has passed. The desire not to be left out of a compelling and all-inclusive social development is sufficient motivation for most of those who do not act spontaneously out of *sentiment*. Legal and institutionalized negative sanctions exist, of course, for the wilful promulgation of disaster, as in arson and in civil bombings as they do for the less clearly defined disasters brought about by negligence. Institutionalized sanctions in the form of remuneration exist for the personnel of those agencies that are organized primarily for disaster work and a less clearly defined remuneration in terms of good will exist for organizations rendering disaster service over and above institutional requirements such as that donated by construction firms and by labor unions. It would be incorrect to attribute the motivation in either case solely to the desire for remuneration. A fund of censure and public acclaim exists, channelled especially toward those in conspicuous positions.⁵⁹

Application of sanctions. Non-application of normal sanctions occurs in the disaster system. Purposeful destruction of property is upheld, for example, when such destruction is considered to be in the community interest. Ordinarily there is a relaxation of discipline in schools and in collectivities generally during the disaster period; lowered expectations of non-disaster related performance, especially from the victims, suggests that the definition of the situation for them is not unlike that of the sick status-role.

The application of sanctions is seldom necessary for the control of the disaster victims. The outside population, however, tends to converge on the stricken area, representing a new hazard to safety and an obstruction in communication and transportation to and from the affected place. Sanctions and control systems are applied to prevent disruption. These include road-blocks and passes which may be revoked if norms are violated. No sanction system has yet been devised that effectively prevents tremendous disruption to rescue, relief, and rehabilitation due to convergence. Likewise the relaxation of the standards and norms for perform-

ance and the non-application of sanctions have not averted mental disturbances supposedly resulting from disaster.

More common are the sanctions applied to the disaster agencies for their performance either in the form of approval or disapproval by the populace. Although sanctions themselves are not revealed in Figure 1, the basis upon which they might be applied is clearly indicated there. For example, the degree of success in fund-raising for the Red Cross or any contribution supported organization may be a direct expression of a positive or negative sanction. As noted above hostility was provoked by the alleged indifference and irregularities on the part of the officials of the 1954 Rio Grande flood. Sanctions may have been applied as some of the high officials failed to be re-elected. In the 1943 Detroit race riot, the failure of the police department to handle the crisis situation in accordance with the norms of their organization and in keeping with the expectations called for by their status-roles, resulted in extreme censure and eventual replacement of some of the key actors. Conversely, the disaster hero, e.g. the successful military man, is often rewarded with non-disaster related high office, an obvious extension of the sanctions of the disaster society.

Facilities as an element. The abruptly changed ends and the modified rank determinants of the disaster system profoundly alter what are perceived as facilities. Many of the facilities of the pre-disaster system, geared to diverse goals, are rendered useless, unsuitable, or burdensome for the new and compelling end of preserving life. At the same instant, the availability of facilities suited to the new end is severely restricted. The new set of facilities must to a large extent be made up of the facilities of the pre-disaster state, altered by discard, substitution, and invention. A garage door may become a raft, a heavy blanket a protective shield, and first-aid knowledge not only a useful skill but a mark of rank. Facilities bearing prime relation to rescue work—whether they be boats, bull-dozers, or hack-saws—and facilities which instrument the preservation of life—whether they be boiled water, anti-toxins, food, clothing, or shelter—are basic and their provision is dependent on the articulation of other societal elements and processes such as institutionalized power, the fulfillment of status-

role expectancies, effective systemic linkage, effective social control, and others.

Utilization of facilities as process. Crisis tends to affirm the ultimate societal values and quicken their articulation. It appears that in most disaster systems, short of those which embrace whole societies such as war in which both life and property are sacrificed, the value of human life is generally elevated and the primacy of private property lowered. This tendency is reflected in the utilization of facilities. Their use, ordinarily restricted to the owner, is usually for the duration of the disaster extended to the disaster workers and its victims without thought of exchange for value received. Thus utilization of facilities, or the right to use property, is vastly changed from the pre-disaster pattern of distribution of rights.

Free exchange of goods or services for facilities of like value either by barter or by purchase tends to perpetuate the existing ranking system, establishing differential rights of facility utilization. For a number of reasons this is impossible in the disaster community. Money, or any other medium of exchange, cannot buy the needed facility at the moment of need: a boat, a storm cellar, a fire escape. Impossible to utilize, the non-disaster connected facility also becomes meaningless as a rank and power determinant. The more urgently needed the contribution and the rarer it is, the greater the likelihood that it will be a rank determinant for its donor. The fields of the dirt farmer and the lawns of the landed gentry, if high, dry and accessible, make equally acceptable refuges for flood victims, and during their disaster-stage use their utilization by their owners is curtailed. Whether the commonly shared facility is the bedding provided by a local hotel in the disaster stage or the dollars provided by the relief organizations during the post-disaster stage, their utilization is in marked contrast to that which ordinarily prevails under private ownership in capitalistic societies. Each pattern of utilization is supported by the beliefs, sentiments, ends, norms, and the accompanying processes held by the same members as they sequentially constitute different social systems.

Common utilization of facilities, restriction of free exchange, somewhat unpredictable and fortuitous rank determinants and a general leveling of rank relatively speaking suggest that the seeds

of socialism may exist in the disaster state. Whether or not this speculation is well-founded it is not surprising that communistic agitators find conditions in the disaster situation favorable to the promulgation of their political theories.

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication. The most immediate and crucial need in disaster is "speedy, accurate, and authoritative information, coordinated and adapted to specific needs of various groups concerned with the disaster."⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that in Germany's bombardment, disruption of transportation seemed to have lowered morale more than interference with other utilities.⁶¹ The disrupting of organizations normally engaged in evaluation, cognitive mapping, and validation disrupts morale because "structuring" activity is hampered and actors are left without orientation. However, the process which is most deficient in most disasters as revealed by the various studies is usually effective communication. "David Brinkley, National Broadcasting Company news reporter and analyst, states that in eighteen years of gathering and disseminating news, he has never seen a first report from disaster areas that proved accurate; all initial reports have been exaggerated or garbled."⁶² The importance of such a state of affairs in convergence behavior should be obvious.

Far greater than the problem of flight and panic among victims in disaster is movement toward the disaster from outside. In the Worcester, Massachusetts tornado "hundreds of fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters of residents of the impact area, [abandoned] their cars in the filter area and [ran] into the impact area on foot to find and help their families."⁶³ Similar behavior is reported for various tornadoes. "Bumper-to-bumper for blocks, the cars attempted to get into the restricted area." This is the typical picture.⁶⁴ "Within minutes following most domestic disasters, thousands of persons begin to converge on the disaster area and on first aid stations, hospitals, relief, and communications centers in the disaster environs . . . messages of anxious inquiry and offers of help . . . overload existing telephone, telegraph and other communication . . . facilities. Shortly following, tons of unsolicited equipment and supplies begin arriving . . . the process continues for days and weeks."⁶⁵ Actually the presence of

“sight seers,” “looters,” and others of this type are unimportant compared with the large number of those with a genuine concern.

As in the spread of information generally, most people learn the meanings of disaster through face-to-face contacts. Although all information facilities of the Red Cross and other agencies are taxed and often jammed, private communication is always much greater than public communication during disaster.⁶⁶ Very often hospitals are not notified; they usually learn of the disaster with the first arrival of wounded victims, and often because of jamming of communication it is difficult to get physicians to hospitals and other posts where they are needed.⁶⁷ The actions of the members of a disaster system will be made in response to what they know of the situation, what feelings they have about it, and what in their opinion ought to be done. The pressure for information, even that prompted by idle curiosity, or what may seem to be idle curiosity, is probably never in reality completely idle. Harry Williams writes: “There is also some evidence which suggests that the possession of information about the danger situation, even when the actor can do nothing about it, is itself positively correlated with calm behavior.”⁶⁸

Boundary maintenance. The boundaries of the disaster system itself are less clear-cut than those of most social systems. At the core are those members immediately and physically involved in the disaster. Others clearly constituting membership in the disaster system are those who by the chance of geographic proximity are immediately involved in rescue and aid, and those who by virtue of close affective relationships with the victims are directly involved. Still others whose involvement is almost immediate are the members of community agencies (or decentralized state agencies) whose status-roles specify crisis responsibility. Fire and police departments are examples. As immediate in time but less directly in contact are communication workers, hospital personnel, personnel of public utilities and the like. Less immediate in time, but directly in contact are the welfare agencies. The whole community, directly or indirectly is often eventually involved.⁶⁹ Delineation of boundaries in a disaster may be facilitated by an application of an idea taken from Homans that sub-groups may under different circumstances maintain different boundaries, separate from one another but all confined within one common

boundary.⁷⁰ What constitutes the one common boundary is dependent among other factors, on the enormity of the disaster. A complete description of boundary maintenance in a disaster system would involve analysis of each sub-group involved, a too elaborate undertaking for present purposes.

One dimension of boundary delineation for disaster systems is that of time. It is hypothesized that, other things being equal, the earlier the time of contact between the core group of victims and the groups or individuals in contact with it, the greater the integration of effort and the less the application of boundary maintenance mechanisms.

Another dimension of boundary maintenance for disaster systems is perception of mutually reinforcing ends and perhaps to a lesser extent, beliefs, sentiments and norms.⁷¹ The core group of victims undoubtedly erect fewer barriers against evacuation crews whose motives are to save lives than against those with profiteering motives. Similarly, the victims would feel more solidary with a first-aid team which used methods believed reliable by the victims than by a team using methods unknown or considered inefficacious.

Among the groups and agencies not a part of the core group of victims but disaster-connected, boundary maintaining devices serve to insure an essential division of labor. Work crews assigned to specific jobs cannot be joined indiscriminately by volunteers. It should not be surprising if individual agency solidarity and boundary maintenance expressed through striving to excel and restrictions on unlimited affiliation from outside were not criticized by members of the disaster system. Thus a group may be accused of "trying to get on the band wagon," or "running its own show by its own authority" or "acting as if . . . [it] owned the disaster."⁷² High boundary maintenance in the pre-disaster state also has both a functional and dysfunctional effect on the disaster system. Although "a socially cohesive community is likely to recover more quickly from the impact than a community characterized by lack of solidarity . . . close social relationships among an affected population also have a negative aspect—namely, that the secondary shock of the loss of members . . . is more widely shared."⁷³

Systemic linkage. In terms of systemic linkage in the early disaster states, in contrast to some beliefs, "the organizations that

arrived on the scene soon after the impact . . . were successful to the degree to which they fitted themselves into the rescue pattern already established by the local groups.”⁷⁴ Although the local activities are not so intense in later states, outside agencies must fit into the local structure. As the euphoria and solidarity of the community mounts, agencies to function must fit into the local structure by rank and sentiment. If Red Cross or other personnel represents a higher class group or if they have not been engaged in the relief activity of earlier phases, and if uniforms and equipment appear ostentatious, systemic linkage does not take place easily. With none of the barriers to “fitting in,” systemic linkage may still be unfulfilled because of the limited duration of the disaster system, unless a speedy agreement on control, involving centralization of activities can be brought about.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Of the three conditions of social action on the PAS Model; namely, territoriality, size of system, and time, territoriality will receive the greatest emphasis in the present section. The consideration of time is subsumed in the discussion of the stages of disaster and both time and size of system are subsumed in the classification of disasters as presented earlier in the essay.

Territoriality. In some types of disasters the spatial conditions of the affected social system are of little or no importance in the occurrence of disaster. The circus fire at Hartford, Connecticut, for example, was not more likely or less likely to happen because of the city’s geographical situation. And Mrs. O’Leary’s cow might have kicked a lantern that started a fire in many other places besides Chicago. The type of disaster under such conditions seems to be highly fortuitous, utterly unpredictable, and impossible of preparation except in the most general way.

Another class of disasters is more closely related to the spatial aspects of the affected social system, although still generally unpredictable. Although tornadoes can and do occur almost anywhere, there are well defined tornado belts in which people are more accustomed than those elsewhere to seeing funnel-shaped clouds, and where storm cellars are common provisions. Likewise, settlements along rivers that habitually flood, or along coasts that are in the paths of hurricanes persist in their location at a calcul-

lated risk. With improved weather predictions, some control over this kind of disaster is emerging through dispersions or evacuation. Residents of Key West, Florida, and environs are by now accustomed to evacuation warnings as hurricanes boil out at sea. Areas threatened by rising water are evacuated often. Retreat to the storm cellar is a limited type of evacuation. The widespread advice concerning the direction and rate of tornado winds and the procedure to follow if one is in an automobile allows for another type of dispersal. Disasters in this category of calculated risk are of sufficient magnitude to bring wide-spread suffering and hardship, but are comparatively localized, a condition which makes dispersion more or less practical.

Differing territorially from this "calculated risk" type of disaster setting are those whose spatial aspects invite disaster because they constitute high priority targets for enemy action. Key transportation loci, bridges, and tunnels are potential disaster threats to the social systems of key production, defense, and government centers. Defenses of a different sort are possible in these target-type potential disaster sites. In any defense involving large numbers of people for long periods of time, the functional integration of the center and the field cannot be forgotten. Without its people the center cannot long operate (as in dispersion); without the center the people of the outlying areas are cut off from their life-line. This is true, at least, in the occupationally diverse and functionally integrated western industrialized world. Even if dispersion were practiced and were physically successful, it is not certain that recovery and morale would not suffer fully as much from the separation of families as it would from exposure to disaster at the center.

This spatially transcendent quality of kinship and friendship groups in American society is a fact of paramount importance for disaster management and control. Practically speaking, it means that *the effective unit of disaster management is not confined to the disaster population, but extends to persons and groups throughout the nation and various parts of the world.* In this sense, any large-scale community disaster in the United States becomes a national or international disaster—vitally affecting persons, organizations, and technical facilities located at points widely separated from the disaster scene.⁷⁵

Convergence behavior reflects this condition. If the phenomenon is to be controlled a central information and intelligence unit is required. In some instances supplies and communications may be directed and managed from centers removed from the disaster scene.

Distance is a function of how people give for relief of disasters in progress. Most of the volunteered supplies and material tends to be furnished by those located near the disaster. The hypothesis that "relief in disaster varies inversely as the square of the cost-distance" ⁷⁶ has not been disproven. In the zone of impact, territoriality is important both in rescue and relief operations. One of the reasons most of the rescue work is done by family, friends, and neighbors is that the ground is familiar to these people. Later in relief operations, the location of shelters and operation posts is important. Often the first outside agencies to enter the disaster site obtain the most strategic locations and therefore have an advantage over the later arrivals, as the Salvation Army had over the Red Cross in the Flint-Beecher tornado. When all the important aspects of territoriality in relation to disaster are considered, it can be concluded that few events dramatize the importance of the condition of space in the functioning of social systems as does disaster.

NOTES

1. Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952).

2. Between 1925-1955 the fatalities and number injured for each disaster in the United States is as follows: Hurricanes, 3,644 and 15,516; Tornadoes, 6,117 and 46,681; Other windstorms, 137 and 1,368; Floods, 2,125 and 16,098; Flash floods, 409 and 9,494; All other storms, 103 and 1,289; Explosions, 4,288 and 8,702; Fires, 3,289 and 16,433; Wrecks, 2,797 and 7,153; Other disasters, 335 and 11,488. Hoyt Lemons, "Physical Characteristics of Disasters: Historical and Statistical Review," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 309, Jan. 1957, p. 13.

3. De Witt Smith, "Emergency Mass Care," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 309, Jan. 1957, p. 120. For other definitions see William H. Form and Sigmund Nosow with Gregory P. Stone and Charles M. Westie, *Community in Disaster* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 11; Harry Estill Moore, *Tornadoes Over Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958), p. 310; Ernest R. Mowrer, "Social Crises and Social Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Feb. 1950, pp. 60-66; W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1909), pp. 17-22; and Anthony F. C. Wallace,

Human Behavior in Extreme Situations: A Survey of the Literature and Suggestions for Further Research (Washington, D. C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, 1956), p. 1. A more complete definition than that appearing in the text is made by the Red Cross: "Disaster creates a situation catastrophic in nature in which numbers of persons are plunged into helplessness and suffering and as a result are in need of food, clothing, shelter, medical and nursing or hospital care, and other basic necessities of life. It also creates a situation in which the established pattern of social organization within the community is suddenly disrupted." *Disaster Relief Handbook* (Washington, D. C.: American Red Cross, 1959), p. 7.

4. L. J. Carr, "Disaster and the Sequence-Pattern Concept of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 38, Sept. 1932, pp. 207-218.
5. Form and Nosow, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 15.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
7. Harry Williams, "Some Functions of Communication in Crisis Behavior," *Human Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1957, pp. 15ff.
8. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Mazeway Disintegration: The Individual's Perception of Socio-Cultural Disorganization," *Human Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1952, pp. 23ff.
9. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Co., 1937). Among the important studies of disruption and disaster is Pitirim A. Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924).
10. David M. Schneider, "Typhoons on Yap," *Human Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer, 1957, pp. 12-13. See also Irving L. Janis, *Air War and Emotional Stress* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), p. 166.
11. Form and Nosow, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
12. John W. Raker, *et al.*, *Emergency Medical Care in Disaster: A Summary of Recorded Experience* (Washington: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Science, National Research Council, 1956), pp. 23-26. See also Leonard Logan, Lewis M. Killian, and Wyatt Marrs, *A Study of the Effect of Catastrophe on Social Disorganization* (Chevy Chase, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University, Operations Research Office, July 22, 1952).
13. J. W. Powell, *An Introduction to the Natural History of Disaster* (College Park: University of Maryland, 1954), and T. Ktsanes, F. E. La Violette, J. H. Rohrer, "Community Structure, Organization Structure, and Citizen Participation in Community-Wide Activities," Unpublished report, Urban Life Research Institute, Tulane University, Nov. 1955.
14. Letter from Harry Moore to author, commenting on Hurricane Audrey which devastated Cameron, Louisiana.
15. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Morale Division (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), Vol. 1, p. 36.
16. From an interview by the author of the present essay immediately after the Flint-Beecher tornado in 1953. For other accounts see Harry Moore, *Tornadoes Over Texas*, *op. cit.*, ch. 13.
17. Charles Fritz, "Disasters Compared in Six American Communities," *Human Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1957, pp. 7-8.

18. Form and Nosow, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 88 and Irving Janis, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 12-21.
19. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, *op. cit.* (Note 15), Vol. 1, pp. 2 and 28.
20. William H. Form and Charles P. Loomis, "The Persistence and Emergence of Social and Cultural Systems in Disasters," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2, April 1956, p. 181.
21. Charles Fritz, *op. cit.* (Note 17), p. 9 and Charles Fritz and Harry Williams, "The Human Being in Disasters: A Research Perspective," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 309, January 1957, p. 48. See the following for additional information and views of panic and shock: Samuel H. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938); Richard T. Lapier, *Collective Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938), pp. 437ff.; Paul B. Foreman, "Panic Theory," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 37, 1935, pp. 295-304; E. L. Quaratelli, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60, No. 3, November, 1954, p. 267.
22. Wallace, "Mazeway Disintegration" (Note 8), p. 24.
23. Powell, *op. cit.* (Note 13), Vol. III, p. 69.
24. Letter from Harry E. Moore to author.
25. Elizabeth Nall, "The Influence of Crisis on the Modification of Social Organization," MSU Master's Thesis in Sociology and Anthropology, MSU Library, 1951, pp. 110ff.
26. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 466.
27. Williams, *op. cit.* (Note 7), p. 17.
28. Raker *et al.*, *op. cit.* (Note 12), p. 27.
29. Powell, *op. cit.* (Note 13), ch. 3, p. 23.
30. For a discussion of the social systems of power-centered and power-diffuse communities (using the present author's terminology) see Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), ch. 2.
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32. Gertrude Samuels, "When the Red Cross Fights Disaster," *New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 28, 1954, after Irving Rosow, "Public Authorities in Two Tornadoes," (Washington: Unpublished report, Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, 1954, Mimeo.) p. 78.
33. Form and Nosow, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 66.
34. Letter from Harry E. Moore to author.
35. C. J. Lammers, *Studies in Holland Flood Disaster*, 1953 (Washington: Committee on Disaster Studies, Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, and the Institute for Social Research in the Netherlands, Amsterdam, 1955), Vol. II, p. 178. See also Charles E. Fritz and J. H. Mathewson, *Convergence Behavior in Disasters* (Washington: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, 1957), p. 31.
36. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, *op. cit.* (Note 15), Vol. I, p. 28.

37. Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), pp. 118-119.
38. *Disaster Manual*, The American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C., 1955, p. 117.
39. Harry E. Moore, Fred Crawford *et al.*, "Waco-San Angelo Disaster Study: Report of Second Year's Work," Unpublished report, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, 1955.
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42. Irving L. Janis, *op. cit.* (Note 10), p. 166.
43. Martha Wolfenstein, *Disaster—A Psychological Essay* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 206.
44. Form and Nosow *et al.*, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 88 and Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 316.
45. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, *op. cit.* (Note 15), Vol. II, p. 1.
46. Powell, *op. cit.* (Note 13), p. 23.
47. F. P. Kilpatrick, "Problems of Perception in Extreme Situations," *Human Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1957, p. 21.
48. The essentials of this summary are, of course, based upon Max Weber's statement. See *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, tr. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 329ff.
49. The author owes a debt in this section to Foster Rhea Dulles, *The American Red Cross: A History* (New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1950), p. 1; Irving Rosow, *op. cit.* (Note 32), p. 197; Form and Nosow, *op. cit.* (Note 3), pp. 190ff. Harry Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 176.
50. Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 137.
51. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, *op. cit.* (Note 15), Vol. I, pp. 66ff.
52. Fritz and Williams, *op. cit.* (Note 21), p. 47.
53. This treatment of the coordination of power groups in the disaster system is based on Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), with most selections drawn from pp. 11-15 and from the last chapter of that work: "Toward a Theory of Disaster," especially p. 314.
54. L. E. Burney, "Public Health Problems in Major Disasters," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 309, January, 1957, p. 87.
55. Roy A. Clifford, *The Rio Grande Flood: A Comparative Study of Border Communities in Disaster* (Washington: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, 1956).
56. Form and Loomis, *op. cit.* (Note 20), p. 183.
57. Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 108.
58. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1947), p. 76.
59. Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.* (Note 30), p. 23ff. Here the theory of the fund of good will is mentioned. For an interesting independent convergence in the idea involving a "fund" of sentiment see Henry Riecken and

George C. Homans, "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure" in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. by Gardner Lindzey (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 825. Concerning the concept, fund of good will, see further in Christopher Sower, *et al.*, *Community Involvement* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957) and the early usage by Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), p. 37.

60. Eli S. Marks, Charles E. Fritz, *et al.*, "Human Reactions in Disaster Situations," unpublished report (National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, June, 1954), Vol. 1, p. 517, as cited by Fritz and Mathewson, *op. cit.* (Note 35), p. 61. See also Moore, *op. cit.* (Note 3), ch. 9, for an excellent analysis of communication in tornadoes.

61. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, *op. cit.* (Note 15), Vol. I, p. 1.

62. Fritz and Mathewson, *op. cit.* (Note 35), p. 62, footnote 3.

63. Wallace, *op. cit.* (Note 8), p. 74.

64. Fritz and J. Mathewson, *op. cit.* (Note 35), pp. 7ff.

65. Fritz and Williams, *op. cit.* (Note 21), p. 46.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 19 and 38; Irving Rosow, *op. cit.* (Note 32), p. 136; Marks, Fritz, *et al.*, *op. cit.* (Note 60), p. 517.

67. Raker *et al.*, *op. cit.* (Note 12), pp. 17ff. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Tornado in Worcester* (Washington: Committee on Disaster, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, 1956), pp. 82 and 84.

68. See Harry Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

69. See Note 3.

70. George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), pp. 134-136. For the importance of boundary maintenance and solidarity of social systems in disaster see Eleanor H. Bernert and Fred C. Iklé, "Evacuation and the Cohesion of Urban Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 2, September 1952, pp. 133ff. and Lewis M. Killian "The Significance of Multiple-Group Membership in Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57, No. 4, January 1952, pp. 309ff.

71. Clifford, *op. cit.* (Note 55).

72. Powell, *op. cit.* (Note 13), ch. 3, pp. 67-68.

73. Fritz, *op. cit.* (Note 17), p. 8.

74. Form and Nosow, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 112.

75. Fritz and Mathewson, *op. cit.* (Note 35), p. 37.

76. Prince, *op. cit.* (Note 21), p. 115 cf. Fritz and Mathewson, *op. cit.* (Note 35), p. 44.

ESSAY 4

RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The principal focus of religion is the actor's orientation toward the non-empirical universe. Entities comprising the non-empirical universe vary tremendously in concept, form, composition and number, from religion to religion and from society to society. Regardless of their make-up all religious entities are either from the non-empirical universe or symbolize it. The range covers such perceivable and non-perceivable items as God or Gods, animals, planets, living persons, dead ancestors, dogmas, creeds, and much more. Each is evaluated highly by the members of the subscribing social system, and is able to evoke deep sentiments of reverence and awe for the holy and the unholy. Although religion is not in all cases integrative, certain religious practices such as group worship may facilitate integration by expressing the consensus in beliefs, ends, norms, and other elements of the social system.

There is no known society which does not include religion in at least one of the following manifestations: 1) a belief in a superior power or powers; 2) a distinction between the supernatural or that which symbolizes the supernatural and is therefore highly evaluated and considered *sacred* (either holy or unholy) and what is considered secular; 3) a pattern of worship; 4) a means of controlling the unknown. Despite its omnipresence, "no societal phenomena is more resistant to scientific explanation."¹ The fact that religion is a subject which does not yield readily to scientific explanation may account for its omission or its casual treatment by many sociologists. However, both its universality and its importance make its inclusion in any serious scientific treatment of society necessary.

The most famous typology of religious social systems designates the sect at one pole and the church at the other.² The sect tends to exhibit characteristics reminiscent of the Gemeinschaft and the church those reminiscent of the Gesellschaft. Sects usually owe their existence to schismatic action or to spontaneous organization. They have often passed through a pre-sect stage in which they resemble the clique, either in the larger religious body (if their inception is schismatic) or in the larger society (if their inception is spontaneous). It is at this clique stage that the internal pattern has the greatest prominence, although the pattern persists as a dominant one well into the sect stage. As the sect attempts greater control over its members by institutional means, and as power and ends become increasingly articulated, the interaction pattern becomes increasingly external until the system can no longer be regarded as a sect but may become a church with highly developed end and power components. Although development from clique existence to sect organization parallels a strengthening of the external pattern, the Gemeinschaft-like attributes continue to have relatively high priority.

Dissenting members of any sub-system may resolve their differences with members of the super-system and other sub-systems either by adaptation or by withdrawal which involves rejection and substitution. Adaptation requires systemic linkage as the ends and other elements of one system are fused with those of other systems and as power is jointly articulated. Withdrawal involves the avoidance of systemic linkage and the concomitant power enunciations in respect to membership. In effect it is rejection of all other systems as represented in the constituent elements and processes, and the substitution of the emergent system as represented by member approved elements and processes. Typically the sect withdraws. The Amish (Essay 5), the Mennonites, and the Hutterites have withdrawn much more persistently than say the Holiness sects. These also have characteristics that make them sect-like and place them near the Gemeinschaft pole, although not so near perhaps as is the schismatic sect when it is separating from the larger system. The church typically uses adaptation which requires that it modify its ends and norms as required by effective systemic linkage with the larger society and that it exercise power over its membership in establishing and

maintaining the linkage. Although the church may have many expressive features, as compared to the sect it places comparatively high priority on the external pattern and is relatively Gesellschaft-like. As compared to the sect-like groups, relations in church-like systems tend to be affectively neutral and membership status-roles functionally specific.

The Episcopalian and Roman Catholic churches are examples of *the church*. (As the terms are used below, sect means sect-like group; church means church-like group.) In some respects Yinger's "universal church" seems Gesellschaft-like. This type of religious organization contrives to keep sect-like movements, which may endanger solidarity through splintering off from the main body, within bounds by making them orders within the church in much the way the Roman Catholic Church does. The "plain" or less Gesellschaft-like church is less able to adjust to the splintering of emerging sects. The Lutheran Church and the Russian Orthodox Church are of the "plain church" type.

Among many possible comparisons of socio-religious groups two besides the sect-church distinction can be plotted on the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft continuum. One distinguishes forms in institutionalization or routinization with special emphasis upon beliefs and relevant norms. This may be illustrated by reference to Figure 2, Essay 2. If the ideal *sacred* is anchored at the Gemeinschaft pole and the ideal *secular* at the Gesellschaft pole, comparative stages of Howard Becker's sacred-secular continuum will be revealed progressively from left to right as 1) the *proverbial*, 2) the *prescriptive*, 3) the *principial*, and 4) the pronormless sub-types with each type merging somewhat with its neighboring type or types. The distinctive sub-types by form of institutionalization or routinization (after Becker) may be suggested by examples of each type. In American industrialized cities religious systems composed of white Catholics fall near the prescriptive stage at which religious doctrine is relatively inflexible, changeless, and sacred, and at which the norms permit a narrower zone of deviancy than occurs at the more secular stages to the right on the continuum. In contrast the religious systems composed of white Protestants (which in Becker's and Max Weber's analysis are sects "grown old"), fall toward the principial stage at which ordered change is relatively more frequent and compromises with

other institutional systems are observable. These differences in form of institutionalization are paralleled in some respects in the *prescriptive* industrialized totalitarian societies and the *principal* industrialized democracies.³

Socio-religious organizations may also be compared on communal and associational axes, terms used by Lenski in his outstanding study of the impact of religion on secular institutions.⁴ The pair constitutes a dichotomy somewhat reminiscent of Max Weber's community of blood and community of faith, and can be plotted on the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft continuum. Thus in Detroit white Catholics are more Gesellschaft-like or associational than Protestants and Jews in that they more frequently attend church, presumably showing thereby a greater dedication to the church bureaucracy and a correspondingly lesser dedication to communal activities as in diffuse interaction with family and friends. Moreover, they are not so communal or Gemeinschaft-like in their primary relations as Jews and Negro-Protestants, as measured by their lower rate of family and friendship interaction and intermarriage within the "faith system" or socio-religious group. There are many evidences that those religious attributes classed as communal by Lenski are becoming more important in the United States. The many evangelical socio-religious groups which already number over ten million members, and continually form both extremist and moderate sects are indicative of the communal type, Gemeinschaft-like in nature. This tendency is further augmented by religious activity in some churches which is only slightly less communal than the sect.

The church-sect typology is based upon Christian organizations. Although its pertinence for most other groups throughout the world can only be hypothesized, most social scientists who specialize in comparative religions believe all religious organizations can be analyzed in terms of the types developed for the study of Christianity. Religious systems can be examined with respect to the elements of the system and the processes that activate those elements.

ELEMENTS AND SPECIAL ELEMENTAL PROCESSES OF RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

KNOWING

Belief (knowledge) as an element. The belief basic to any religious system is that there is a supreme power or powers. What a man believes and "knows" in the realm of religion "is in the main a response to the need for an organized conception of the universe and . . . a mechanism for allaying anxieties created by man's inability to predict and understand events which do not apparently conform to natural laws."⁵ Exactly what the belief is—that is, the nature of the supreme power or powers, will always be related to the existing conception of the universe, and particularly to those events which are not understandable. A nation-wide survey in the United States reports that 96 per cent of the sample polled said they believed in God; one per cent said they did not. The following reasons were among those given for believing in God: "1) The order and majesty of the world around us; 2) There must be a creator to explain the origin of man and the world; 3) There is proof of God in the Bible (or other church authority); 4) Past experience in life gives me faith in a God; 5) Believing in God gives me much comfort."⁶ Some of these reasons suggest that they are held in order to complete an organized conception of the universe and to understand events otherwise unexplainable.

Beliefs polarize on the sect-church continuum, at least for the Christian religion. In one American study the respondents were asked to indicate the intensity with which they believed: "All the miracles in the Bible are true" and "Heaven and Hell are very real to me." Sect members tended to agree; church members to disagree.⁷ Protestant sects and schisms often result when charismatic leaders offer a particularistic or "non-dogmatic" interpretation of the scriptures. Since members of such groups deny any special legitimacy for professional or doctrinal interpretation, the Bible itself becomes so important that the members' own interpretations are considered fundamental. Fundamental interpretation may, therefore, mean literal in a particularistic sense.

Some constellations of beliefs tend to perpetuate the status quo, others may contribute to change. This may be explored

through an examination of the process by which religious beliefs are articulated.

Cognitive mapping and validation as a process. Besides a core of religious beliefs, religious affiliation may provide actors a way of figuring things out, of apprehending the new, of comprehending reality. The prospect of inter-planetary communication, for example, and the reality of man-launched orbits necessitates a cognitive mapping of new factors in relation to the religious belief system. The traditional belief system is either validated or altered to take care of new circumstances. The shifting of an ocean current may greatly alter the life style of a primitive island people; the new circumstances would have to be accounted for in their body of religious beliefs.

Northrop theorizes that western industrialized societies and eastern societies comprehend reality in basically different ways. He attributes to the east a priority on what he calls "the aesthetic component"; to the west, he attributes, "the theoretic component." In over-simplified terms the western scientist conceptualizes with his mind; the eastern teacher and philosopher with his senses. The latter relies upon intuition and a contemplation of things; the Westerner pursues the theoretically known component.⁸ The followers of Confucius, for example, have been empirically oriented.⁹ They have built their beliefs out of what can be seen, felt, experienced; theories have been of little interest to them. The West has symbolized the known in mathematics and has pursued the known symbol to the unproven theory. Social scientists who have studied the different kinds of cognitive mapping used by different people have given various names to these methods of looking at things. They have been called "natural will" and "rational will."¹⁰ They have been constructed on two axes to give a double comparison.¹¹

BELIEFS WHICH ARE:

Existential

Evaluative

BELIEFS WHICH ARE:

Empirical

Scientific

Ideological

Non-empirical

Philosophical

Religious

However they are categorized, they represent the process by which actors of social systems variously map reality. Religious

practices and other impinging activities can be expected to be affected accordingly.

From among various religious orientations such as mysticism, devotionalism, asceticism, ceremonialism, doctrinal orthodoxy and ethicalism, Gerhard Lenski ¹² selected two, namely devotionalism and doctrinal orthodoxy for his analysis of the impact of religious belief on selected secular activities in Detroit. Orthodoxy, measured by subscription to such doctrines as life after death, Jesus as the Son of God, God hearing men's prayers, and God as a Heavenly Father who expects his children to worship Him every week in his Sanctuary, was found to be differentially distributed, being higher among white Catholics than among white Protestants, and for Negro Protestants it fell on the continuum at a point between these two groups. The same respondents were differentiated by their tendencies to value work for its own sake, their dedication to high achievement goals, and willingness to expend energy in their pursuit, traits commonly considered to represent the capitalistic orientation. The measure of orthodoxy was found to be related negatively to the bundle of traits which were used as an index to dedication to the spirit of capitalism.

Devotionalism as indicated by frequency of prayer and by attempts to ascertain God's will in important decisions was positively correlated to the spirit of capitalism index. The correlation held even when differences in each economic class and degree of Americanization were held constant. White Catholics, for example, who relative to Negroes, are economically advantaged and much more likely to be middle class in life-style, were surprisingly similar to Protestant Negroes in extent of commitment to the spirit of capitalism. Both were low in this respect in comparison to Jews and white Protestants. The degree of Americanization (as measured by the number of generations in the United States) among white Catholics was found, like class, to be negatively related to the high evaluation of work and achievement traits, especially those most demanding and rewarding. For white Protestants the relationship was in the opposite direction.

Religious beliefs differentiated by completely different methods of apprehending reality (for example, those held by the Hindu and the Christian) would be expected to be articulated to secular activities with very different results; Lenski's study suggests that

religious beliefs springing from the same general tradition but differentiated only by degree of orthodoxy and the accompanying syndrome of traits, is an important factor in explaining significant secular variations.

FEELING

Sentiment as an element. Every society distinguishes between the sacred and the profane.¹³ Awe and reverence are among the sentiments which surround the sacred. Sentiments have a special place in religious activities when important matters are uncertain as in sickness and war, and when the interaction equilibrium of social systems is unbalanced as in death or disaster.¹⁴ Sentiments of anxiety, uncertainty, and inadequacy and others related to *anomie* are alleviated through the sentiments evoked by religion. *Charisma* is "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities."¹⁵ Like *mana* it denotes "qualities, forces, etc. which are exceptional, removed from the ordinary (*aussera taeglich*), to which a special attitude is taken and a special virtue attributed . . . things 'set apart' . . . often attributed to objects, acts, human beings, etc."¹⁶ Awe, reverence, respect and holiness pervade attitudes toward the *charismatic leader* and among his followers. The sentiments may attend the person of the leader (e.g., Mahatma Gandhi), the facilities (the Bible, the Koran), an associated place (the altar, the city of Mecca), a normative ritual (communion), and the end or objective (salvation, Nirvana).

Religious sentiments may also be made to attend worldly activities. The different attitudes toward work, for example, as observed by Weber and empirically supported by Lenski, not only are expressed in cognitive mapping as elaborated above, but are also attended by appropriate sentiments. Unlike the Catholic ethic which sanctifies the work of the church organization and the monasteries but secularizes the work of the masses, the Protestant ethic sanctifies work for ordinary members.¹⁷

Luther and Calvin sanctified work; they made virtues of industry, thrift, and self-denial. Wesley preached that the fruits of labor were

the signs of salvation. The culmination of the Protestant Reformation, then, was to give divine sanction to the drive to excel.¹⁸

Whether or not this distinction is valid, it must be conceded that the potential for achievement of action-linked goals is enormously increased by a religious system which attaches the sentiments of sanctification to activities and processes engaged in by the masses.

Tension management and communication of sentiment as process. As religious sentiments are articulated through supplication, prayer, confession, and other rites, they "give an opportunity to 'act out' some of the psychological products of strain . . . [and] give people a sense of 'doing something about it.'"¹⁹ The expression of sentiments decreases in intensity along the continuum from sect to church. Many Protestant sects favor ecstasy and emotion in religious observances. The church in contrast, favors passivity through its use of ritualistic forms of worship and its emphasis on education. Although churches do not eliminate expressions of reverence and awe accorded the sacred, they establish norms that taboo what they regard as "emotionalism."

Religion's most important activity in tension management, however, may be classified under the headings: 1) *rites of passage* and 2) *rites of intensification*. Man's normal day-to-day life is composed of balanced and predictable relations in his home, at his work, among his friendship groups, and in his community. Birth, death, and marriage temporarily upset this balance and pose new realignments. *Rites of passage* are the institutionalized religious means of giving emotional support in the newly patterned relationships. They support the affected individuals through the time of imbalance and help to bring about a new equilibrium by involving all the "meaningful others" in the transition. Thus, christening rites, wedding ceremonies, and funeral rites involve not only the new child, the newly wedded pair, and the newly dead; they provide channeled emotional outlets and public acknowledgment of realignment for the families and friends.

The *rites of intensification* are those ceremonies which attend a change of pace or a disturbance in the organization—as before the beginning of battles, important team contests, and other activities that bring great changes in the intensity and rate of interaction. After tornadoes, hurricanes, eruptions, explosions, battles,

and other disasters which disrupt interaction, many societies expect religious leaders to assist in reestablishing interaction through rites of intensification. The forms of ritual used for this purpose include prayers, songs, dances, as well as special rhythmic chants and movements done in unison. The mealtime prayer is a common rite of intensification that marks the end of diverse sets of activities and establishes a new rate of interaction in the family. Figure 1 graphically shows the restoration of the interaction pattern through ritual.

Socio-religious groups may be oriented toward a communication of sentiment in which fellowship is fully as important as religious expression. Ethnic groupings in the United States, for example, at one time constituted quasi-systems in which sentiment communication was important. As the groups lost their identity by assimilation into larger systems it has been claimed that the sentiment communication function was assumed by emerging socio-religious groups. Such groups and others as they become increasingly committed to the community ends may exhibit an increasing amount of activity related to what Niebuhr calls "cultural religion" and a decreasing amount among Protestants at least, to doctrinal matters. To the extent that such trends exist there would seem to be some similarity between them and current Marxian-centered movements elsewhere, and to earlier fascism in Italy and Germany. In the United States, Americanization and urbanization, ordinarily thought of as processes which vitiate small group solidarity, do not seem to have depressed the vitality of socio-religious groups. In fact the great amount of interaction among relatives and friends of the same faith in the highly mobile populations of cities is impressive.²⁰

ACHIEVING

End, goal or objective as an element. The members of each religious social system share a common goal.

These ends may be divided into two categories: those which are achievable on this earth and those which are not. Those ends which cannot be achieved in this world must have their locus in a superempirical world . . . supernatural entities . . . function to support man's belief in the validity of ultimate ends. This super-world must appear real to actors, even though its existence cannot be demonstrated scientifically.²¹

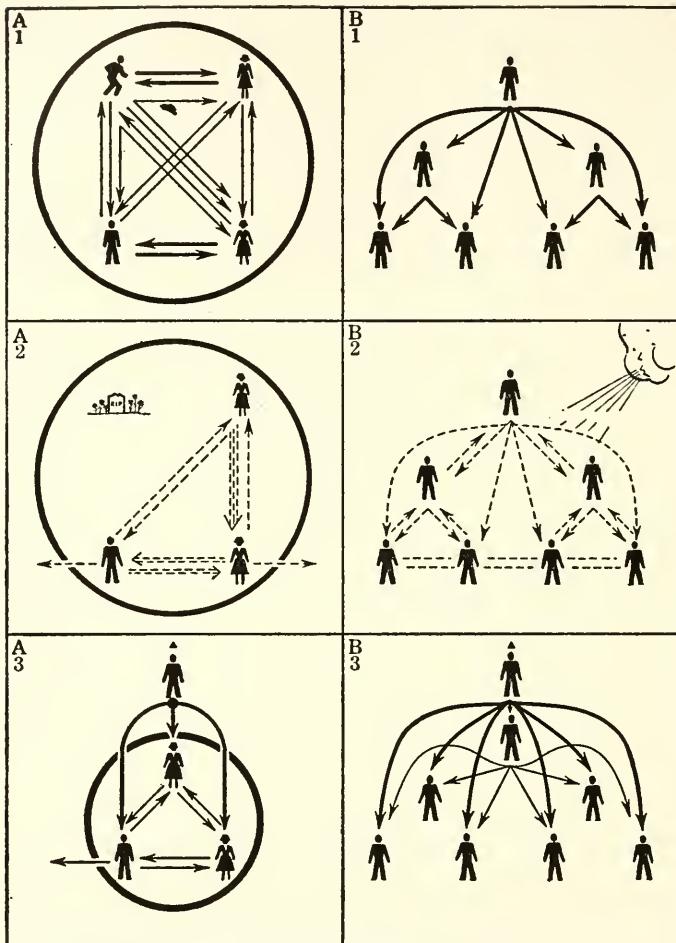


FIGURE 1

THE RESTORATION OF EQUILIBRIUM THROUGH RITUAL. (A) A *Rite of Passage*. (1) A FAMILY IN EQUILIBRIUM. (2) DISEQUILIBRIUM CAUSED BY DEATH OF FATHER AND REDUCTION OF HABITUAL INTERACTION. (3) RESTORATION OF EQUILIBRIUM: SHAMAN INTERACTS WITH FAMILY IN RITUAL TECHNIQUES, RESTORING AMOUNT OF INTERACTION AND STABILIZING EQUILIBRIUM LONG ENOUGH TO PERMIT READJUSTMENT AT A NEW LEVEL. B. A *Rite of Intensification*. (1) A SYSTEM IN EQUILIBRIUM. (2) A CRISIS DISTURBS THE ORDER OF ACTION, REDUCES THE INTERACTION, AND UPSETS THE EQUILIBRIUM. (3) THE SHAMAN ORIGINATES TO MEMBERS OF THE SYSTEM, DIRECTING THEM IN RITUAL TECHNIQUES AND THUS RESTORING THE DISTURBED INTERACTION RATES.*

* Adapted from Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, page 399.

Some of the major religious systems of the world do not consider life in the hereafter an end. In Confucianism, for example, there is "no definite interest in a future life, and no concept of salvation. [The] basic aim is to live in harmony with a social order which is generally accepted and to be an ornament to it."²² In contrast, heaven, eternal life, and salvation are basic ends as is the directive to do "God's will in building the Kingdom of God on Earth with its tendency to guide religious interests in the direction of active ascetic mastery over the world,"²³ an injunction which received emphasis in the Calvinistic form of Protestantism. Sacred objects and religious rituals become so sanctified that sometimes they too become ends in and of themselves. Thus, a person may become so attached to a religious medal or so dependent upon the act of communion that to lose the one or to be absent from the other represents a failure of goal achievement. Such immediate ends can nevertheless be distinguished from the ultimate religious goals. The sect in the Christian religion is very much preoccupied with such ends as salvation. Few compromises are made with other objectives. The church-like religious entity, with a greater number of systemic linkages, permits the ends of other social systems to influence the ends of the religious systems. Thus freedom and tolerance may be accepted as ends by some churches, whereas some sects may regard such objectives as immoral.

Goal attaining activity and concomitant "latent" activity as process. Since goals are tremendously varied, the activities pursued in their attainment are likewise diverse. Even when goals are roughly identical, the methods used to attain them may differ widely. The saints themselves seem not to be in accord on how to go about gaining the objective as is illustrated by the age-old conflict between the efficacy of "works" and "faith."

Whether the individual ever achieves the goal of eternal salvation is impossible to ascertain. When a great number of people are motivated toward this (or any other) religious goal by becoming active in particular ways, however, their unified activity is palpable to the greater society. The processes which this unified activity comprise are called "latent" because they are incidental to the "manifest" activities directed toward salvation, or harmony with the social order, or whatever. For example, the Calvinist in line with Weber's reasoning, predestined to eternal salvation

or damnation, was never certain of his future. The resultant anxiety generated "latent" activities directed toward the search for divine portents which would provide the actor with clues concerning his eternal fate. Success achieved by hard work and the practice of thrift were regarded as prognostications of God's favors whereas lack of worldly success became equated with the probability of eternal damnation. Although the empirical evidence to support Weber's position is not altogether clear a series of studies have demonstrated that when such factors as social class, urbanization and Americanization are accounted for, Protestants make greater and more rapid progress in upward mobility than Catholics. Moreover the commitment of Protestants to the spirit of capitalism as reflected in the high evaluation placed upon independence and upon demanding and responsible labor as an end and duty in itself, low evaluation of jobs with short working hours, much leisure time, little responsibility and use of "connections" as a means for advancement supports the Weberian theme. Not only do white Protestants make greater progress upward in bureaucracies in urban centers; in general, other things being equal, white Protestants are more likely to be self-employed than white Catholics.²⁴ If Max Weber was correct in his analysis, the capitalistic system resulted in large part from the activities that accompanied practicing good stewardship—activity for which the reward was heaven.

It is very hazardous to single out cause and effect in viewing a religious (or any other) goal and the processes involved in goal attainment. Did the goal of salvation cause the money-making activity to come into being? Or, rather, did the money-making activity arise independently and, because it had to be justified, become rationalized or "accommodated" as a way to salvation? Philosophers and social scientists have wrestled with this and related problems.²⁵ It is the view of this author that the perception of the ultimate goal and activities directed toward it and those directed toward more immediate circumstances interact on each other, both modifying each other. The diagram below as designed by Yinger²⁶ shows the three possible approaches to the relation between ideas (beliefs, ends, and norms) and the activities connected with the carrying out of the ideas (cognitive mapping,

goal attainment processes and utilization of facilities as employed on the PAS Model).

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Ideas are mere epiphenomena—reflections of the true causes | Ideas, material conditions, etc. are interactive | Ideas are first causes |
| X ----- X ----- X | | |
| Marx's <i>general</i> perspective | Weber's <i>general</i> perspective (Also Yinger's, Sorokin's, and Parsons')* | Hegel's <i>general</i> perspective |

* Added by present author. See footnote 26 below.

The position taken in this essay is supported by the findings of Weber, Sorokin, Yinger, Lenski, Parsons, and many others. This conception of religion includes phenomena not always considered religious but always exhibiting one or more of the main functions enumerated above as characteristic of religion:

In my judgment, a great deal of religion today is given other names—nationalism, communism, or even science (as a way of life not as a method).²⁷

NORMING, STANDARDIZING AND PATTERNING

Norm as an element. Norms prescribe the “oughts” and “ought nots” or the *mores* for social life and action which prescribe what is right and what is wrong. In religious systems more than in others only certain beliefs, sentiments, and ends are designated as ones that “ought to be” subscribed to. Beliefs, sentiments, and ends, then, are *normative*, as are the special processes which activate them. It would be impossible and meaningless to list and describe the innumerable norms of the thousands of religious systems which determine in their articulated state how people should conduct themselves and how life should be lived. There are, however, a few generalizations and principles about religious norms which can be profitably examined.

Some religious bodies are characterized by norms which are

universal; others by norms which are *particularistic*. The injunction, "Thou shall not commit adultery," for example, is not to be obeyed only in one's kinship group, in one's friendship group, or in one's church. It is to be obeyed universally, not particularistically. In general this is true of the norms of the Christian religion. This is in contrast to the Confucian ethic, especially with respect to the general norms of interpersonal relations.

Its ethical sanction was given to an individual's *personal* relations to particular persons—and with any strong ethical emphasis *only* to these. The whole Chinese social structure accepted and sanctioned by the Confucian ethics was a predominantly 'particularistic' structure of relationships.²⁸

Some religious bodies are dominated by such particularistic norms as absolute truth-telling between members of the religious group but equivocation, pretense of not knowing, and the giving of obscure and misleading information to non-members of the religious group. When peoples from religious backgrounds dominated by universal norms meet and deal with peoples from religious backgrounds dominated by particularistic norms, they often think of each other as "immoral" because their own normative expectations are not met.

The norms of some non-religious social systems reflect little more than what is regarded as good or bad taste and can be viewed relatively dispassionately.²⁹ Religious norms tend through the process of socialization to be so thoroughly internalized with the positive reference group's evaluation of them that they become part of the personality structure and cannot be regarded dispassionately, or in an affectively neutral manner. Goode, who mentions this characteristic of the religious norms, comments,

We often preach to [our children] the advantages of being good. But our most telling argument can never be that 'crime does not pay very much.' Rather: crime is *bad*. We attempt to develop the necessary restraints *within* the child. He must refrain from evil, not merely avoid being caught.³⁰

Although no moral norms are actually affectively neutral, religious norms more than most others are close to the polar type of affectivity. When transgressed they are felt both by the violators and by the other members of the religious community who sense

"moral indignation." Religious norms are prime examples of a type which carry with them their own punishment if they are violated. Guilt and other uncomfortable feelings plague the violator of the religious norm to the extent that he subscribes and is committed to a given religious belief. Their observance springs from universal consensus (within the religious body) and from custom. This is in contrast to the norms which depend for their observance upon law or upon the fear of "being caught."³¹

Religious norms furnish the most important basis for differentiating sect and church. The sect is "a group that repudiates the compromises of the church, preferring 'isolation to compromise.' . . ." ³² Sects are relatively indifferent to the secular or worldly norms of powerful social systems, important to the larger society, whereas churches tend to accept and reinforce them. The sect, as demonstrated by the Amish, also excludes unworthy members or those who do not follow the norms of the sect. Sect members depreciate the value of other religious institutions whereas a church-like body embraces all who "are socially compatible with it and accepts other established religious institutions."³³

Although religious norms usually are to a large measure supportive of the individual, their absence, their conflict, or their extreme demands can subject the individual to extreme stress. One indicator of the intensity of such stress is the suicide rate which shows rather large variations for different religious groups. Durkheim ³⁴ differentiated three types of suicide: *anomique*, *egoistic*, and *altruistic*. The first type is most common when social systems reflecting meaningful interaction have disintegrated and new ones have not yet been institutionalized; relative unimportance of religious systems in normative orientation is usually implied in these situations. In this type of suicide the norms, ends, and status-roles of pertinent social systems no longer have meaning for the individual. Egoistic suicide is most common among members of social systems with difficult goals the achievement of which maximizes personal contributions and minimizes group contributions. In general, egoistic suicide rates are higher among Protestants than Catholics, apparently in part due to the emphasis placed by the former upon individual endeavor. Those religious sects that fail to build trust in and reliance on mutual aid and

make high-level ends such as salvation attainable only through individual performance have the highest egoistic suicide rates. Altruistic suicide is most common in those societies that place high evaluation on *group* norms and ends and require the highest commitment to them with the resulting relatively low commitment to and evaluation of individual norms and ends or attainment. In normal times, the society generally manifesting the highest altruistic suicide rate is Shinto Japan in such acts as *hari-kari*; the highest egoistic rates are found in Protestant Germany, although types are never unmixed.

Both the egoistic and anomique rates of suicide tend to be reduced during activities and events such as war that lead the individual to place system ends and norms above individual ends and norms. Rapid economic changes may increase the rates of anomique suicide. Obviously, suicide is related to other elements in the social system besides norms. It must, however, be regarded as one of the important indicators of the appropriateness and balance of norms to the other elements of social systems.

The norms of all types of social systems, including the religious, pervade all interaction of groups both large and small so that no particular process can be designated as *the* one that articulates norms. Nonetheless, there may be an especially close relation between norms and the evaluative process. Norms represent a body of inherited judgments that prescribe what members are expected to do and to abstain from doing and/or standards by which behavior is judged. The evaluative process is concerned with an on-going judgmental activity. The norm as an *element* of social structure can be contrasted with the operative functioning of the norm by a simple example. The prohibition against swearing may be thought of as a norm. An individual actor deciding whether or not to swear or considering the gravity of the sin if he were to swear is evaluating the norm in terms of his own behavior. The norm is articulated. It is articulated also when other members of the religious system evaluate the individual's violation of the norm. The Old Order Amish sometimes hold special meetings devoted to evaluating the extent of the guilt of a member who is reported to have sworn.

Evaluation as a process. What governs the evaluation that makes some behavior "right" and other behavior "wrong"? Why

are some beliefs and sentiments chosen and some rejected? What principles cause some goals to be discarded and others to be pursued? These questions as related to any specific social system can be only partially answered and their answers are particularly obscure for the religious systems. All that can be done here is to mention the few evaluative principles and procedures which seem to be generally true for all religious systems and to pose the core question for which social science has not found an answer.

1. Not all beliefs, sentiments, ends, and norms that are positively evaluated are equally compelling. The evaluative process, then, not only determines *what* is valued but *how much* it is valued. The most valued become the most highly sanctified. Religious systems not only reflect what is considered "holy." There is always "the most holy of holies." This "most holy of holies" is composed of the most sanctified goal, based on the most sanctified belief, regarded with the sentiments most appropriate to such sanctity, attended by the most sanctified norms, controlled by the most sanctified status-roles by application of the most sanctified sanctions, and surrounded by the most sanctified facilities. The ritual which surrounds this "most holy" will suggest by its degree of elaborateness how much activity is devoted to religious pursuits and to what degree religious behavior is applied to non-religious activities. It is as though the results of the evaluative process can be seen everywhere, but that the process itself is hard to see.

2. The large proportion of highly sanctified social items are for the most part not consciously adopted. They issue from the cultural past and persist as each new generation is socialized to them. Nonetheless, changes occur in time. The evaluative process at work in religious bodies is largely traditional, but occasionally and gradually is responsible for the acceptance of new items. For the most part, the hallowed items stem from the convergence of individual choices and in turn foster further integration.

Although disparate religious convictions may be dysfunctional in the integration of the larger society, the product of the evaluative process in each separate religious group tends to integrate that group. A common religious heritage such as Christianity or Mohammedanism, or a quasi-religious tradition such as Marxist communism, shared by the vast majority of a society's members

is of course evaluated highly and tends to bestow a certain degree of integration on the society.

A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society.³⁵

The tenets of a common religious heritage can, however, have many interpretations, and these also are evaluated highly by their proponents who usually somewhat devalue other interpretations as well as those who espouse them.³⁶ Would the common Christian heritage shared by the Amish (Essay 5) and by Episcopalians be particularly integrative for those two groups and under what conditions? Would the Shintoism of a Japanese facilitate the integration into the United States more than the Catholicism of a French Catholic? Religious evaluations believed to lead to an integrative consensus obviously must be measured for intensity as well as content; their vitality must be compared with the evaluations of secular activities regarded as vital; and finally the level of integrative consensus attending the evaluations of secular activities must be recognized as a countervailing factor. The evaluations of secular activities, however, are basically affected by religious evaluations which are ultimate and, therefore, extend beyond religious application into the work-a-day life of the individual. Religions which apprehend the supernatural and man's connection with it in quite different ways may expound essentially similar principles which apply to economic and other activities. All in all, it is quite understandable that Kolb as he relates religion to the individual and to society, deemphasizes the societal aspect, stresses the individual, and sees religious organization, not societal organization, as ultimate. His conclusion which is not unlike that of Parsons and consistent with the positions of Merton, Goode and Davis, is stated thus:

The attitude is taken toward the norm, if the person believes in it, regardless of whether it is a norm integrating society. If the accepted religious norms are capable of integrating a society, then the society will be integrated. It is in this sense that although religion is a *social* phenomenon it is not necessarily a societal one, and society is a religious phenomenon.³⁷

3. By whatever principle "good" and "bad" is decided, it would seem that the selection for religious groups is believed to be made with supernatural guidance in accordance with some ultimate and objective body of "truth" or "rightness." What that body is and whether it is universal, for all mankind under all conditions, or "relative," being "right" for certain men in certain conditions, is a problem that philosophers have pursued through the ages. It remains the great unanswered question.³⁸ Whether or not norms stem from supernatural sources, whether they are relative or absolute, individual actors in social systems and groups are evaluated and ranked as a consequence of the degree to which their interaction follows normative principles. The behavior of individual actors and groups when evaluated according to moral, technological, and expressive norms and standards forms an important criterion in the ranking process.

This section may be closed with the following hypotheses for which some supporting data from the United States are already available: When Catholics, white Protestants and Jews are compared, Catholics place the highest evaluation upon children and the family. In cities Jews and white Protestants place the highest evaluation upon the work or employment relations. These differences account in part for greater mobility of Jews and white Protestants and higher fertility on the part of Catholics. In line with Lenski's finding that a larger proportion of white Catholics report that their beliefs are influenced by family members than is the case with Protestants other differences in the groups may be explained in differential reciprocal influences between family and socio-religious systems.³⁹

DIVIDING THE FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Status-role as a unit incorporating both element and process. Religious collectivities follow many different principles of the division of labor in religious activities. In the less primitive societies, Hoult⁴⁰ distinguishes four types of religious leaders—the prophet, the messiah, the religious founder, and specialized religious functionaries—and specifies the conditions that are favorable to the development of each. In some societies a single status-role or a single relation can become so holy in the eyes of the membership that the incumbent of the status-role virtually

becomes God. The sanctification of the emperor in pre-war Japan reified that status-role to the extent that the conception of a transcendental God was next to impossible. In China the father-son relation with its accompanying ancestor worship, likewise limits and defines the conception of God for that social system. Prophets in such societies tend to be "exemplary," showing by their lives the way to accomplish the religious body's ends. In contrast, a religious group with a transcendental God—Mohammedanism, Christianity, and Judaism—produces prophets who issue concrete commands and absolute norms, the source of which is said to be God. Weber, who distinguished the two types of prophecy, named the latter "ethical prophecy" and the former "exemplary prophecy." For an "exemplary" prophet, "a norm or command to change the world is out of the question."⁴¹ The universe in its totality may be conceived of as God immanent but no subscribing groups have prophets in the sense that theistic religions have prophets.⁴² The position of the ethical prophet who claims a direct link with God, on the other hand, is set *against tradition* and *for the changed order*, the details of which he claims to bring from the Divine. The prophet or other leader becomes *charismatic* if he is accorded a sanctified existence separating him from the secular world. Because of this charisma, he may be able to condemn some parts of the traditional order, to glorify a new order, and to enlist a following which is dedicated to achieving change. Thus Christ is recognized as the charismatic messiah in Christianity; Marx the charismatic leader for communism.

As charisma is routinized and practices institutionalized, the successors to the charismatic leader become in a sense his deputies who are in varying degrees God-chosen and responsible for leadership in the tradition of the original charismatic prophet. Even among Protestants who deny the need for any intermediary between the individual and God the status-role of minister may be vested with ritualistic and other religious responsibilities which clearly impute to it sacred attributes. Other religious status-roles—deacon, elder, usher, and others—vested with lesser responsibilities and often filled by lay incumbents specify expectancies consistent with the sacred nature of the total enterprise. The status-role of member specifies expectancies which vary greatly from religious system to religious system. Even among religious bodies

which are loathe to drop members for deviation or non-participation, the member status-role is not ideally thought of as including professed religious affiliation and flagrant deviation from religious norms simultaneously.

RANKING

Rank as an element. Social stratification supported by religious bodies almost always closely follows the stratification pattern of the larger society. Thus, outside of India, both the Mohammedans and the Jews avoid caste distinctions; in India, both Moslems and Jews follow caste lines. The Jews of Cochin in India, for example, are divided into "the 'White' or 'superior,' the 'intermediary' or 'Brown,' and the lower 'Black' each of which worships in a segregated synagogue."⁴³ The caste system as it operates in India is supported by the Hindu religious bodies as well as by such other important collectivities as the family, government, and production.

Both Catholics and Protestants on international and local levels have "given explicit support to both caste and class types of stratification."⁴⁴ Despite official approval of the maxim that each individual is born to a station in life and he should be satisfied with it, its application tends to coincide with the practices of the larger society. One of the remarkable developments of the century is the

important point that the ideal of brotherly equality, once associated with radical dissenting sects alone, has become an accepted value of most large religious groupings in the United States. This spectacular change in religious orientations has been influenced by the facts that 1) the equalitarian ideal has appeared so often that it has become part of the underlying ethos to which institutions and people in general must make their adjustments; 2) the industrial revolution created great masses of dissatisfied and disinherited people who provide a broad, firm basis for the ideal of brotherly equality; and 3) nineteenth-century businessmen began to realize that an industrial society, to be technologically efficient, requires an open-class system.⁴⁵

Some groups, among which are the Quakers, have from the beginning of their history, maintained that men should "not have to bow down to one another." The Mennonites and the Amish have

traditionally stood out against hierarchy and class differences, maintaining that all must be equal before God and among themselves. Groups which have defied traditional ranking systems have remained small and peripheral. The large religious groups for the most part, have changed their ranking practices and evaluations not so much from religious directive as from the press of social circumstance. Hoult concludes:

- 1) In any society where a stratification system is fundamentally embedded in the underlying ethos, religious groupings which reject the particular version of stratification will typically remain nothing but minor 'excrescences on the body politic,' and 2) sociocultural compatibility and power considerations are more important than religious ideals in . . . anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism and class privilege.⁴⁶

The ranking of individuals and groups of individuals is an evaluative process. The choice of religious affiliation can become a vehicle by which higher rank in the greater society is sought.

Evaluation of actors and allocation of status-roles. Actors comprising a religious body are evaluated in part in terms of their demonstrated qualifications pertinent to their respective status-roles. Thus of several actors who have become members of a religious body by confession of faith, or by submitting to instructions and passing tests, some will be ranked above others because of demonstrated piety, a high degree of conformity to the norms, conspicuous dedication to goal achieving activities, or because of some attribute considered to be God-given and sanctified to a degree. The actors highly evaluated on account of this latter quality or charisma may be elevated to leadership especially in the sects which often follow an unprofessionalized ministry. In the churches elevation to religious leadership is usually dependent upon prescribed training. Rank among the professional religious leaders often is a composite of two mutually reinforcing ranking systems: congregational evaluations and evaluations bestowed by the church hierarchy. Rank often expresses the degree of sanctification of the office. In the Catholic hierarchy, for example, the Pope is the most sacred. In the quasi-religions of communist Russia and China, membership in the Party is itself a mark of rank and status-roles within the Party are differentially ranked. The incumbents tend to be chosen because of their possession of ap-

proper qualifications and be ranked as the status-roles are ranked.

Although the choice of status-role of religious leader is often rationally made on a conscious level, most of the sects and many of the churches believe that the incumbents of the status-roles of minister or priest are "called" by God to their status-roles. A story is told of a young man who had spent many years in training for the priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church. At the ordainment ceremony he did not, and seemingly could not, move his feet to take the last physical step which culminated the ordainment ritual. He was thought to have "missed his calling." This phrase is commonly used for status-roles in social systems other than the religious system. When applied to economic roles it reflects the Weberian theory of the Calvinistic sanctification of economic roles whereby each person who performed well in his station in life was doing so because God had called him into it.

Members as well as leaders of religious systems are sometimes thought to be called to the church. This belief about membership allocation is more prevalent in the sect than in the church where

The individual is born into it, and through infant baptism be comes under its miraculous influence. The priesthood and the hierarchy, which holds the keys of the tradition of the Church to sacramental grace and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, represent the objective treasury of grace, even when the individual priest may happen to be unworthy. . . . An individual is not born into a sect; he enters it on the basis of conscious conversion. . . . In the sect spiritual progress does not depend upon the objective impartation of Grace through the Sacrament, but upon individual personal effort. . . .⁴⁷

Special personality and physical characteristics are sometimes considered prerequisites for religious status-roles. Religious bodies whose leaders are called upon to perform physically demanding forms of prostration or other physical activity sometimes exclude from the priesthood those who suffer from certain disabilities. On the other hand, the physically handicapped are given preference in some religious social systems. Special religious powers are attributed to the epileptic in the Arabian culture; a religious belief may lead members to think that God has touched the insane and they are therefore held in some degree of sanctifica-

tion. Twins are similarly regarded in some religious bodies as possessing some religious significance. Different membership status-role evaluations are commonly imposed on the basis of sex and age.

Charisma, the gift which elicits those attitudes which are necessary for particularistic leadership of the sect, is not unrelated to the quality of *legitimacy* as it pervades different status-roles of churches. Eventually, the religious system led by the charismatic leader must ready itself for the institutionalization of a process by which the leader status-role may be filled upon the death of the original leader. The Roman Catholic Church exemplifies a structure that fills the status-role of the Pope, Christ's own emissary according to doctrine, by a highly institutionalized legitimization process. The pre-World War II Japanese emperor assumed his religious status-role on the basis of heredity. Other religious systems use various methods by which God makes his call known to those destined to be leaders. There are direct methods such as that used by the Amish, whereby the slip bearing a scriptural verse is placed in one Bible among many, and God directs the one he is calling to pick up that Bible. As direct, but certainly less witnessed "callings" include those that come to people by inner conviction or by elaborate visions of angels or other sanctified beings. Many a religious leader has claimed instruction in his new status-role by messages received from these Divine emissaries.

In the United States the poor, the disenfranchised, the uneducated, the neglected—in short, those with low rank—when they are interested in religion at all, with remarkable regularity join a certain kind of religious system. It is likely to be a small, homogeneous sect with strong emphasis on emotionalism and evangelism. It is likely to extol the virtues of self-discipline, hard work, thrift and industry, and to deplore the "sinful" (and costly) indulgences of worldly and high-living pleasures. Although these choices are made in the name of religion, their selection and pursuit are consistent with economic rise. The evaluative choices of the sect results in time in an almost inevitably heightened acceptance of the religious group in the ranking system of the larger society. As education and occupational rank increases "emotionalism, evangelism and other Sectarian characteristics are increas-

ingly rejected" ⁴⁸ until in time the sect becomes another church. Class-conscious like the church organizations which preceded them, the new church neglects the new poor who in turn start another sect, for endless repetitions of the struggle upward. This is particularly a phenomena of Protestantism.

The sect-less nature of the Roman Catholic Church testifies to the efficiency of the institutionalized means of keeping sects within bounds by forming orders within the church itself and by other means. A number of observers associate religious formalism with the upper classes and religious emotionalism with the lower classes, an association which would obviously make the Roman Catholic Church an upper class church. Yet this is not so. In the United States there is a marked "positive correlation between relatively lower-class rank and adherence to Catholicism." ⁴⁹ This seems to be a clear indication that the rank improving processes which so clearly mark the activities of the sect are taking place *within* the Catholic Church, a fact which would account for large numbers of lower class individuals among the membership. The Protestant churches have no device by which sect-like activity can take place within the church. The lower classes among the Protestants who comprise most of the sects are counted outside of main church memberships, thereby giving the latter a middle or upper-class rank. The sect-like elements within the Catholic Church may not, for reasons of doctrine, be so motivated toward thrift, industry and the denial of costly pleasure as the Protestant sect-like elements. If this is so, the upward mobility of Catholics almost certainly would not be as rapid as that of the Protestants.⁵⁰ However, Catholic migrants to the United States have not had so long a period within which to climb as the Protestant groups who arrived earlier.

It follows, as would be expected, that once church status has been achieved rankings among the church members show class differences related, at least in part, to the recent sect character of the religious group. Table 1 shows a small selection of Protestant denominations with respect to their class composition.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element. The religious collectivity has often merged its power structure with that of such secular collectivi-

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF SELECTED PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS, BY
SOCIAL CLASS LEVEL UNITED STATES, 1945-46*

| Denomination | Upper Class | Class Levels | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | | Middle Class | Lower Class |
| Congregational | 24% | 43% | 33% |
| Episcopalian | 24 | 34 | 42 |
| Presbyterian | 22 | 40 | 35 |
| Methodist | 13 | 35 | 52 |
| Lutheran | 11 | 26 | 53 |
| Baptist | 8 | 24 | 68 |

* American Institute of Public Opinion poll, as reported in Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1949), p. 198.

ties as the political and economical. The Holy Roman Empire was one such system. Other medieval mergings of state and church flourished under the doctrine of Divine Right which held that the right of sovereigns to rule is derived immediately from the Deity. The idea that authority in spiritual matters carried with it a secular authority is noted by students of religious systems in present-day primitive societies.

The 'halo of the sacred' becomes a necessary fact, in that those who are supposed to have secular authority also have sacred authority, and that in the larger framework of the ritual constituting the Murngin philosophy the cap-stone and symbol is the totem, close to which there is no living human being except the old men . . . the secular authority does not act at many points, simply because the sacred entities, whose rites are oriented toward the old men, themselves enforce public peace and conformity.⁵¹

Such religious power is most often confined to *Gemeinschaft*-like social systems.

Modern capitalistic industrial nations tend to separate the religious and the political power spheres. Even those *Gesellschaft*-like national systems that have a state supported church—as do Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries—make a sharp distinction between political and religious power. Despite such differentiation, the state and the church each attempts to use the

other's power structure to legitimize and strengthen its own power.⁵² Thus, for example, churches have sought to legitimize by political measures, school-released time for religious instruction of children. The state may call upon the church for assistance in sanctifying certain secular directives such as the integration of the races. As mentioned in Essay 2 modern totalitarian industrialized nations with religious or semi-religious ideological underpinnings such as the Marxian submerge the religious to and fuse them with the political spheres.

Problems of control appear within the religious system or the sect as soon as the membership becomes too large and too widely distributed for one leader to handle by direct contact. As the leader's disciples or lieutenants share responsibility and authority, a hierarchy becomes established. The extent of the delegation of power is related to a belief-end-norm complex. In a religious system like the Roman Catholic Church, only the sacraments mediated through formally trained and ordained priests can assure salvation. The Protestants deny that any intermediaries, earthly or heavenly, are necessary to salvation. The individual church member makes his own contact with the supernatural through Biblical directive and Christ's power to redeem. In view of the importance of the intermediary in the Roman Catholic Church it is not surprising to find that it is often considered a model of the sacred bureaucracy. In this system the pinnacle of power rests in the status-role of the Pope in Rome. Decreasing powers are delegated down through the ranks which include cardinals, patriarchs, exarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, and many others. Most Christian religious bodies employ some kind of hierarchy for the articulation of power within the system, although most of them tend to be less bureaucratized and more congregation-centered than the Roman Catholic Church.

Hinduism stands in sharp contrast to both. "There is no Hindu 'church' one may join."⁵³ One is born into a community, caste, and socialized to ritual practices which emphasize the sacredness of the cow, the avoidance of eating beef, and the acceptance of the religious authority of the Brahman caste. The power of this caste without a bureaucratic hierarchy is remarkable. The members of the caste neither directly control the military instruments of force, the wealth of the society, nor the political authority; they

nonetheless exercise great power. "No other priesthood in history has such an achievement to its credit."⁵⁴ The action aspects of each of the religious power structures can be seen in the decision making process.

Decision making and its initiation into action as a process. There are relatively great areas for individual and congregational decision making in those religious bodies whose norms prescribe direct communion between the individual and the divine. The individual must decide for himself what is "right" in private life. He must decide with others of the congregation the conduct of affairs of the local church. Religious bodies whose norms prescribe intermediaries between the individual and the divine remove from the individual the necessity for decision making in many areas of private life. Decisions involving the affairs of the local church as well as those of the national and international organization, are likely to represent the decisions of *institutionalized authority* to a more marked degree than do those of the churches with *congregational systems of power*.

A study⁵⁵ of the two types of power patterns, the congregational and the bureaucratic, reports the adjustment of ministers in the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church. Members of the congregation-type church make more decisions about their minister than do those of the bureaucratic church. Factional struggles between members are also greater in the congregational-type than in the bureaucratic type. In the bureaucratic church the struggles tend to be between the minister and individuals rather than between factions of the membership. The decision making processes vary widely. The Quakers, for example, strive for unanimous decisions through consensus. Only a unanimous decision has divine approval. The Amish resort to prayer for guidance. Although each individual partakes in the decision making process, the influence of the institutionalized religious leaders, particularly the bishops carry much weight in decisions concerning the use of automobiles, for example. In contrast the Roman Catholic does not seek divine guidance in deciding whether he should practice birth control. This decision is made for him by the head of his church who arrives at the decision through divine help and the tenets of the church.

SANCTIONING

Sanctions as an element. The sanctions of religion can best be explored by a short comparison with sanctions of a few other social systems. In the production system, an individual who does not do his work properly experiences the negative sanctions of a defective product and perhaps the loss of his job. If the doctor and patient do not follow the norms of the health system, the patient does not "get well" and the doctor may be negatively sanctioned by other doctors and patients. In the educational collectivity, the student may receive the negative sanctions of poor grades and the teacher may fail to receive pay increases or promotions. To the extent that there is systemic linkage between religious systems and these "secular" systems all these and many other "secular" negative sanctions of all the meaningful social systems can be regarded as religious sanctions and are regarded by many individuals as evidences of divine displeasure. Religion "provides an unlimited and insuperable source of rewards and punishments—rewards for good conduct, punishments for bad."⁵⁶ Furthermore, the negative sanction need not take the form of a specific punishing consequence of a specific "bad" action nor the failure to win the reward despite "good" action. Any deviation from expectation may likewise be a sanction. Thus, if a boy is regularly rewarded for a given performance, failure to reward under similar circumstances may be a sanction. Similarly, members of religious systems often feel "punished" or "rewarded" by the divine when they have done nothing outstandingly "good" or "bad" but have experienced results from normal, routine actions that fall short of or exceed expectations.

Belief in the after life adds infinitely to the sanction system of societies. The good life according to group norms can lead to paradise with streets paved of gold if the members are materially inclined or to an existence in which understanding and an atoned existence is attained for those spiritually inclined. The religious collectivity exhibiting belief in immortality may tend to articulate "the reward in heaven" idea of sanction when earthly existence is shorn of rewarding experiences. Actors in other systems may place emphasis on "creating God's Kingdom on earth," thus creating an ideal. Through evaluations of this kind, members of

religious systems may be motivated to dedicate much effort to achievement of what the objective observer may pronounce as utopian dreams or self-fulfilling prophesies.

The good-will (or ill-will) of fellow members in the religious system are potent sanctions too. In a *Gemeinschaft*-like religious system, such as the Amish, there is literally no place to go to find meaningful human interaction if the individual cuts himself off from his fellow members through wilful disregard of "good." This is particularly true of the sect. The church member may suffer greatly from ex-communication, but his interaction pattern can usually provide him with other social contacts. The members of the religious system from which he has been ex-communicated may continue meaningful interaction with him despite his severance from the church. This generally is in marked contrast to what happens to the sect member who is cut off from his religious group.

Application of sanctions as process. The sanctions as elements emphasize that there are powerful rewards and punishments which will come through the divine, or through the divine in conjunction with other members of the system, to all those who deserve them. Sometimes a religious functionary decides the seriousness of an infraction and metes out the punishment in terms of "penance." At others, the conscience of the individual and the attitudes of the meaningful others extract "penance." In either case, the future actions of the sanctioned individual are based on repentance. Behavior that is a direct correlate of rewards or punishments can be viewed as sanctions in process. The sanctions either succeed or fail, when they are in process, to bring about the desired behavior.

Job is the classical Judeo-Christian example of the individual who has heaped upon him "undeserved" punishments by which his faith is tested. He and his modern counterparts meet adversity by "keeping the faith" despite hardships; or they may, by taking the alternate course, deny a relation between "good" behavior and rewards and thereafter become opportunistic. "Undeserved" rewards may similarly be viewed as temptations to complacency and self-indulgence. The foolish according to the Judeo-Christian ethic squander these rewards on themselves and come to no good;

the wise refuse the "undeserved" rewards for self-benefit and instead channel them into societal use.

The sanctioning of activity is closely linked to the process of evaluation often involving the phenomenon of *public* announcement and demonstration of the deviation.⁵⁷ Sometimes the evaluation takes place in a trial by jury, sometimes through "public exposure," and in many other ways. The trials for heresy during the Middle Ages and the various sanctioning processes involving burning alive at the stake and other punishment not now common stress the importance of religious sanctions then. To find anything remotely comparable today one must turn to the trials of the communists.⁵⁸

A more generally applied type of sanction in the various *Ge-meinschaft*-like systems is available for members who might consider changing their socio-religious group affiliation or faith. Thus Lenski⁵⁹ inquired of a scientifically drawn sample of Detroit informants whether or not they thought friends or relatives would try to discourage them or would be disturbed or unhappy if they considered changing their religious faith. Over eight out of ten white Catholics answered, yes, as compared with less than one fourth of the Negro Protestants who answered, yes. Jews and white Protestants fell between these extremes.

FACILITATING

Facility as an element. A religious facility may be accorded significance because it has been sanctified, and thereby accorded the sentiments of reverence, respect, and awe. A church distinguishes between its bundle of "holy" facilities—its altar, its sanctuary and its religious tokens—and its more secular facilities—its kitchen, its dining hall, and meeting rooms. The former are accorded special sentiments that become symbolic of ends, beliefs, and norms crucial to the integration and solidarity of the system. The religious utility of an article lies completely in its symbolism.

Idolatry involves the use of facilities that have themselves been made objects of worship. The individual's communion with the divine is addressed to the idol, the ultimate recipient of the communication. The various theistic religions distinguish between the symbolized facility and the essential divinity. The admonition, "Thou shalt not worship graven images," is addressed to the Jew

and to the Christian to remind them of the difference between the symbolic and the real. Some religious systems attempt to dispense with all sacred facilities so that the religious sentiments will focus only on the divinity; others build elaborate structures that are liberally supplied with sacred facilities. Weber maintained that as the Calvinists, Methodists, Pietists, and others banished sacred facilities the more surely to direct their religious sentiments to the divinity, they opened the door for the sanctification of a work-a-day status-role of every day life.

Utilization of facilities as a process. Some facilities for religious activities such as organs, incense, and bells are used to invoke the proper sentiments for worship; others—particular food or drink that “stands for something”—symbolize a particular kind of mystical communion; still others—beads which mark certain stages of prayer, or psalter announcement boards, e.g.—act as sort of time-pieces to help give over-all order to a ceremony or service in which many share. Norms function to determine who, how and under what conditions facilities are used. The religious potency of the facility in and of itself varies in the mind of the worshipper according to the beliefs and norms of the system and the sanctification bestowed upon the facility. In some religious systems the religious relic, in and of itself, can perform miracles in the lives of those who see or touch it. The holy object in other religious systems performs no active function *per se*, but reminds the individual of the holy being the object symbolizes. Even in the latter type of religious body, although the facility is recognized as symbolic rather than intrinsic, desecration of the facility would be considered “bad.” Churches tend to have more elaborate systems of symbolic facilities than do sects.

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication as a process. The Gemeinschaft-like quality of the sect, providing as it does the opportunity of face-to-face contact, knowledge of the whole person, and a high degree of cohesion and integration, means that word will spread very fast among all members about any subject which holds great meaning for the members. The members of a denomination or church could scarcely depend upon any such grape-vine transmission of news throughout its membership. The denomination, on the other

hand, would generally have access to many more sources of information than those stemming from the church. Systemic linkages are so much more replete than in the sect that a wider coverage of subject dispensed through wide communication media would be available to the church member as compared to the sect member.

The church-sect difference of communication pattern is perhaps not the essence of communication within religious systems, however. The realities of sanctified subjects and objects affects the communication pattern. Those religious systems rich in symbol and in rite are likely to employ religious communication symbols which partly convey cognitive meaning and which partly obscure it to the end of increasing its cathectic import as though the subject were too sanctified to be talked about openly. Thus, many religious rites are conducted in languages long since dead, or "in the language of the tongues," intelligible only to the speaker and to God, or in the careful phrasing of magical or mystical incantations. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the revised translation of the Christian and Jewish Old Testament and the Christian New Testament is usually rationally recognized as being a more precise rendering of the ancient literature than the King James version of the Bible. Nevertheless, the King James translation seems still to be preferred. It is not only sanctified by tradition; it also, in the opinion of many worshippers, sounds more holy, more respectful, and more appropriate because it is cast in speech which is different than every day speech. The Latin "te deums" and "pater nosters" have the same appeal, even though they obscure the exact meaning for thousands of worshippers whose understanding of Latin is minimal.

Access to communications other than those of the religious organization are often momentous matters to church members. The Amish abide by the strict limitations set upon secular messages. Radio, television, books, and most magazines are banned. This process cannot be said to be limited to religious sects. The Roman Catholic Church by no means bans all communications conveyed by any of the media, but has a constantly revised list of banned book titles as well as approved and disapproved movies, magazines, and such. Banned communications in lesser known religious systems may take the form of interaction with a "foreign"

tribe or interaction between the holders of certain status-roles—e.g., the tabooed relations between the members of the sacred caste and the “out” caste members, or between the holy emperor and the common man. Since the core of religious systems is the heritage of the past, it is no surprise that communication forms commemorating the past and reiterating the familiar are highly regarded. Whether or not one subscribes to the particular religious belief, the religious utterance, hallowed by millions of voices for thousands of years, becomes a part of cultural heritages.

Boundary maintenance. Some boundary maintenance comes about through the communication of sentiment and tension management. Much of the boundary maintenance of a religious group, however, comes about through the commitment of its members to the system’s values and hence their willingness to resist forces which might change those values. Although it would be false to claim that *all* religious activity is integrative,⁶⁰ the integrative processes within any one religious collectivity cannot be ignored. Hoult concludes that “The most important common denominator of religion, regardless of time or culture is its attempt to sanctify behaviors and beliefs associated with the most nearly permanent individual and/or group survival, materially or spiritually conceived.”⁶¹ Yinger queries in agreement, “Is it not true that there is a *tendency* in a society, in the face of these disintegrative influences, to recover or discover a unifying religious theme? If we define religion broadly enough, the answer would seem to be ‘yes.’”⁶²

The Amish exercise very powerful and effective boundary maintenance devices.⁶³ They have upon occasion taken flight when there seemed to be insuperable threats to boundary maintenance. The group relies chiefly on *withdrawal* and *refusal to interact* in organizations with members of other systems for boundary maintenance. The use of *force* is another procedure in boundary maintenance. The Amish do not include this mechanism in their way of life, but history is replete with religious wars, many of which had boundary maintenance as an objective. Members of religious organizations can maintain the boundaries of their group by (1) making their appearance and speech sufficiently different than others that none can unknowingly intermingle; (2) by cutting down the various means by which new ideas

can be repetitively communicated; (3) by expelling from the group those who deviate in respects considered to be important to group solidarity, and (4) by communication and heightening of the sentiments of reverence and awe through ritual, prayer, exhortation and many other means to maintain or increase the commitment of members to religious beliefs, ends, norms and status-roles.

Probably the socio-religious groups offering least boundary maintenance in the United States are the white Protestants. Lenski found that in Detroit approximately half of the Protestants expressed the desire to have their denomination merge with another. He mentions the Protestants as the star of the ecumenical movement.

Some writers have suggested that the development of either communistic or fascist cells in industrial countries of Europe parallels the development of religious sects in the United States. More pertinent perhaps for a consideration of boundary maintenance is the resistance of various religious organizations to such semi-religious movements as communism or fascism. A study of voting and other behavior of German cities made by the author revealed that no factor was so depressing on the votes cast for Nazism in pre-Hitler German cities as Catholic church affiliation. As revealed by the statistics, however, the efficacy of Catholicism in withstanding communism in German cities was not nearly so great as it was for Nazism.⁶⁴

Systemic linkage. As was indicated above under the caption, power, "The usual relationship between church and state has been union of the two institutions, as illustrated by predominantly Catholic and Lutheran nations, by the ancient Jews, and by Puritans, Mohammedans, and Mormons. When church and state are united, value unity and consequent group coherence are preserved."⁶⁵ Lacking full union of the two institutions, they are frequently linked temporarily during a crisis when one or the other needs further strength than that coming from its own resources. Individual church congregations are often links with other community organizations in a quasi-social work type of activity such as youth movements, philanthropic activity, and so on. The linkages with families and with community occupations is clear. The church through memberships, contributions, and

support are directly linked to the community. The extent of the systemic linkage shows up in times of great national crisis, such as war. "Even those religions which have a strong strain of pacifism, like Christianity, will support a war if it is backed by other established institutions."⁶⁶ The probability of systemic linkage is always greater for the church-like organizations than for the sect-like organization. The latter is much less willing to compromise its position to accommodate to the positions taken by the secular organizations, and furthermore, gives such high priority to the pursuance of salvation that there is little time for more temporal pursuits.

One of the interesting types of religious systemic linkage is that of intermarriage among members of different religious systems. The Jewish rate of interfaith marriages is reckoned by one estimate to be only 5 per cent.⁶⁷ It has been demonstrated that as the proportion of Catholics in a given area decrease, the number of interfaith marriages increase. Thus in Catholic Quebec only 2 per cent of Catholics marry non-Catholics, 13 per cent in New Mexico, 46 per cent in the state of Washington, and in Protestant Saskatchewan, 59 per cent of Catholics marry non-Catholics.⁶⁸ Among the sects marriage outside the sect is frowned upon or actually forbidden. If for example, a member of the Old Order or House Amish should marry the more liberal Church Amish member, the former member would be excommunicated, and the couple would likely become members of the Church Amish group or more liberal group.

Various studies have reported marked differences in fertility rates of Catholics and Protestants and accompanying attitudes and practices concerning contraception and ideals related to family size. These differences like those previously discussed involving suicide rates, differential commitment to the spirit of capitalism, mobility, etc., may at once be a reflection of and the consequence of differential systemic linkage. The higher fertility rates of Catholics are generally assumed to be based upon evaluations resulting from the systemically linked family and religious systems. It is, therefore, of interest to note that of various factors which have been considered potential equalizers for fertility rates among different religious groups none has been so pronouncedly related to the lowering of fertility among Catholic women as prolonged

work outside of the home. Further study of the mechanisms involved in this particular type of systemic linkage may further emphasize the importance of occupation in social change. Likewise the great emphasis communists place upon involving women in activities outside the home is of interest in this regard. If it is true as generally assumed that evaluations and decisions are influenced by those with whom one engages in highly evaluated and meaningful activity, linkage of the family to the occupational system is extremely important in determining action particularly in industrialized societies. It is reflected in mobility rates which lessen the family linkages and increases the non-family linkages. Lenski found that among Detroiters only six per cent of the Jews and ten per cent of white Catholics and Negro Protestants reported no relatives in the city. Twenty per cent of all white Protestants reported no relatives there and 29 per cent of white Protestants in the middle class had no relatives in the city.⁶⁹

Institutionalization. Religious behavior is predictable to the members and tends, at any one time, to contain much of the traditional and little of the new. This means that religious systems are relatively institutionalized. The adjustments in which the old institutions might be most subjected to strain can be hypothesized as occurring in rapid periods of expansion or contraction in the system's membership, during periods of relatively great heterogeneity, or in periods when important systemic linkages decline for some reason. One of the most important institutionalized processes in religious systems occurs in that period following a particularistic movement organized about a charismatic leader. This process of institutionalization is often called the routinization of charisma. Such sacred characters as charismatic prophets and messiahs, if their movement is to last, must with their followers be fitted into status-roles. In addition the ends, beliefs, and norms of the system must be codified and standardized in order that the movement may outlive individual actors. Particularistic relationships must become universalistic. Likewise the change of sects to churches involves institutionalization of the various linkages with other systems.

Socialization. Religious activity is social on at least two levels: the interaction with other people which is characteristic of most religious systems, and the interaction with the divine which is

often conceived in social terms. Socialization of the child on this second level marks the unique contribution religion makes in the socialization process. In some religious systems the child may learn to relate himself to God in the same way he relates himself to his own father. The highest and most demanding ends and norms of the religious group may thus be internalized and a dignity provided to the individual. If the God is too sacred to be outrightly role-played, interaction with God and an internalization of what His wishes are thought to be may come about through other measures. Prayer may reveal sufficiently to the individual "what God thinks" so that internalization of the God figure may take place. Similarly, exhortation and explanation of the Divine by one who is credited with knowing God's will may leave a sufficiently vivid picture of God that he may become internalized. An impressive list of writers who have studied many religions note very human characteristics of the God figure and indicate that man's internalization of the God figure is encouraged by similarities which man can perceive between God and himself. Frazier, for example, maintains that man creates gods in his own image;⁷⁰ Goode shows that although gods may lack legs, arms, or other ordinary physical attributes of man, they perceive and judge much as man does;⁷¹ Northrop sees credited to the divine, attributes which belong to the leaders of the people;⁷² and others have noted the kind of familiarity springing up between man and God which allows man to scold his God a little. Whether the divine spark is thought to reside in man, or the human spark to reside in God, all religions apparently recognize a spiritual and/or social kinship between man and the deity. Making the most of this kinship through an internalizing process provides a socialization to ends and norms which are likely to transcend those espoused by mere man.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Territoriality. The preceding pages have demonstrated that among the items which can be sanctified by mankind in his religious systems are *places*. The Holy City, the Holy River, the Holy Altar, the consecrated spot of ground, or similarly sanctified spots, are common to practically all religious systems. Territoriality thus expressed is more characteristic of religious systems

than it is of other social systems. Certain patriotic sanctifications of spots, however, resemble religious sanctifications. Religious terminology applied to places can be recognized in "historical shrines," "consecrated battlefields," "hallowed halls" and "dedicated birth-places." Territorial considerations pose problems for the religious system similar to those posed for political systems. As a simple religious entity expands and encompasses large blocs of people in large sections of the nation or of the world, all of the territorial complications of control and administration are present. The extreme territorial accessibility in modern cities is having its effect on religious systems, too. No locus of the most parochial religious system can be regarded as insulated from the impacts of other peoples with other religions. It remains to be seen whether those religious groups impelled by strong missionary activity will be effective territorially in a very different way than those "of the Far East [which] are not characterized by the missionary spirit . . . their tendency is to remain at home, opening their arms to all foreign missionaries, hoping to learn something from them." Where the former will transmit their religions and how the latter will transmute their learnings can be foreseen to be the potential for one of the greatest cultural diffusions of all time. In the words of Toynbee, "This Russian counter-discharge in the form of Communism may come to seem a small affair when . . . India and China respond in their turn to our Western Challenge. . . ." ⁷³

NOTES

1. Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 509.

2. A typology introduced by Max Weber and developed by his student Ernst Troeltsch whose name is generally associated with it. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols.; tr. by Olive Wyon (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931), pp. 331-333, 338-341. Reprinted in J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 416. Among modern sociological writers few have made greater pioneering contributions to the sect-church typology than Howard Becker and J. Milton Yinger. See Howard Becker, "The Development and Interaction of the Ecclesia, the Sect, the Denomination, and the Cult as Illustrative of the Dilemma of the Church," in Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932), pp. 624-642. See also J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), pp. 23ff.

3. See Note 58, Essay 2.
4. Gerhard Lenski, "Religion and the Modern Metropolis," *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 1, Summer 1959. See also Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociologist's Inquiry*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961). Seymour M. Lipset, "Religion in America: What Religious Revival?" *Columbia University Forum*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Winter 1959. Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955). For the discussion of the impact of the "community of faith" upon the "community of blood" or the sib see Max Weber, *The Religion of China*, Translated and Edited by Hans H. Gerth, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 237.
5. Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction of Anthropology* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953), p. 503.
6. American Institute of Public Opinion, December 1954, as cited by William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 563.
7. Russell R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (October 1955).
8. F. S. C. Northrup, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 300ff.
9. Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*. III. Abteilung: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* [2 vols.; J. C. B. Mohn (P. Siebeck), Tuebingen, 1925], p. 23, after Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), p. 546 or 556.
10. Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, trans., ed. Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing: Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1957).
11. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 326ff., and "The Role of Ideas in Social Action," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1938: reprinted in *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).
12. Gerhard Lenski, *op. cit.*
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26. J. M. Yinger, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
27. J. M. Yinger, "The Influence of Anthropology on Sociological Theories of Religion," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (June 1958), 490.
28. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, *op. cit.*, pp. 550-551.
29. See Richard L. Morris' "A Typology of Norms," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 5 (October 1956).
30. William J. Goode, *Religion Among the Primitives* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 41.
31. Typologies distinguishing the two types of norms are the "repressive" and "retributive" of Durkheim, the "religious" and "legislative" of Toennies, and "urban" and "least urban" of Goode who, however, does not specifically use the concept "norm." Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1933), pp. 138-146. Ferdinand Toennies, *op. cit.*, pp. 218ff. William J. Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
32. J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
33. Russell R. Dynes, *op. cit.*, p. 556.
34. Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (eds.), introd. George Simpson (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951).
35. A. Radcliff-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p. 519. Reprinted by Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois: 1948. William L. Kolb leaves little doubt as to what he believes the function of religion with respect to integration is. He writes: "At the heart of every culture

and society there is a religious faith, although what is called religion or called God in a particular society may not actually be the religious faith of that society." From correspondence.

36. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 29 and 30.

37. From correspondence. See also William J. Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 223. For proof that religion continued to function, albeit performing changed functions, as societies industrialized and modernized, see Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Aspects of Modernization in Turkey and Japan," *Journal of Sociology*, July 1958, pp. 1-5.

38. As William L. Kolb writes, religion "offers an explanation of the origin and validity of group ends. It provides ritual reaffirmation of these ends. Through sacred objects it offers a concrete reference for the values. And finally, it is a source of rewards and punishments." *Op. cit.*, p. 606. The present author knows of no way that mankind can prove or disprove Kolb's claim that religious values are absolute, based as it is on "a reasonable assumption that what man must universally believe to be true is true." We certainly subscribe to his view that, "When the sociologist restores his belief in the objectivity of values while, at the same time, remaining humble about their final content, he rejoins the human race in its eternal quest." p. 609. The evaluation of the social scientist must, in this "quest," be directed by the norms or canons of science governing its processes of cognitive mapping. The religious fundamentalist will, of course, be guided in his "quest" by the traditional religious norms of the system within which he is an actor. Kolb does not maintain that the validity of human religious and value systems can be empirically demonstrated. Neither can the value systems that furnish the underpinning of science.

39. Gerhard Lenski, *op. cit.*

40. Thomas Ford Hoult, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

41. Max Weber after Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

42. F. S. C. Northrop, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

43. Thomas F. Hoult, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

47. Ernst Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-419.

48. Russell R. Dynes, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

49. Thomas F. Hoult, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

50. Raymond W. Mack, *et al.*, *op. cit.* As indicated above this implies that the American "ethos" of achievement has been taken on by American Catholics, an assumption not proven. For facts that point in the opposite direction see Gerhard Lenski, *op. cit.*

51. William J. Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

52. This observation is confirmed by Thomas F. Hoult, *op. cit.*, 214, and J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1946). William L. Kolb writes, "political authority in the functional theory of religion, will always be grounded in some set of non-empirically demonstrable beliefs." From correspondence.

53. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 555.
55. Luke M. Smith, "The Clergy: Authority Structure, Ideology, Migration," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, June 1953.
56. Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 529.
57. Robert K. Merton, *et al.*, *The Student-Physician* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 17 and 18.
58. Nathan Leites and Elsa Bernaut, *Ritual of Liquidation—Bolsheviks on Trial* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954).
59. Gerhard Lenski, *op. cit.*
60. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, pp. 42ff.
61. Thomas F. Hoult, *op. cit.*, p. 387.
62. J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
63. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), pp. 229-230.
64. Charles P. Loomis, "Factors Related to Voting Behavior and Suicide in the Cities of Pre-War Germany," in *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science*, (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1950).
65. Thomas F. Hoult, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
68. Harvey J. Locke, *et al.*, "Interfaith Marriages," *Social Problems*, Vol. 4, No. 3, April 1957.
69. Gerhard Lenski, *op. cit.*, Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Prostitution," *American Sociological Review*, October 1937.
70. Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 302.
71. William J. Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
72. F. S. C. Northrop, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
73. Arnold J. Toynbee, "Encounters between Civilizations," *Harper's Magazine*, 194 (April 1947), p. 293.

ESSAY 5

THE OLD ORDER AMISH AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

When Hippocrates went about his business of learning about health and disease two thousand years ago he found it necessary to make the most pedestrian observations over and over again; he watched the patient's temperature, his color and pulse, the degree of swelling, the appearance of the eyes, of the skin, and of the tongue. He made careful notes of all that he saw and listened carefully to what the patient reported. Only after collecting great numbers of such observations and deliberating about the frequency of their occurrence in relation to each other did he feel that he could make some tentative generalizations. Thus did Hippocrates start medicine on its long road toward scientific inquiry and begin the accumulation of medical knowledge.

What was started so long ago in the study of the body corporal is still a-borning in the study of the body politic, but the same careful plodding method is still the only way to inductive scientific inquiry. Thus, to understand society it is necessary to observe, to record, and to deliberate one's findings. Hippocrates' unit of study, the human body, is conceived somewhat differently by various specialties just as our unit of study, the social system, is conceived of differently by various specialties. Although a social system has myriad forms, as the term is used here it is essentially "meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals" whereby "one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."¹ In Essay 1 the social system was

discussed in terms of its elements and processes. The present essay is intended to illustrate those concepts.

Sociological literature is rich in excellent detailed observations and in the records of particular social systems in which certain elements and processes emerge again and again in these studies. Whether a particular social system is common the world over, as is the family, or short-lived and single-purposed, as is a Community Chest Fund Drive, certain characteristics are common to them. In Essay 1 these common characteristics were identified, defined, and classified into a framework that could include *all* significant social behavior for *all* social systems. Just as Hippocrates' tentative generalizations became tools which enabled him to observe new cases both more effectively and more efficiently, the concepts represented in the elements and processes become instruments by which on-going social systems may be observed.

There are no social systems in which time stands still entirely; social evolution though slow is inexorable. The slow-motion picture can reveal the "winner by a nose" in the photo-finish horse race; or it can show the intricacies of a scrambled moment of play on the football field. In the same way a "picture" of a slowly changing social system may illuminate the basic elements and processes that compose social systems and make them work as systems. The social elements and processes, so revealed, may prove to be the "universals": those that are common to all social systems. With this thought in mind, attention is now turned to a community study of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.² The study of such a group offers many advantages. It is traditionally difficult to be objective about one's own concerns, one's own memberships in social systems; the Old Order Amish system is sufficiently different from the larger society that it is possible to view it fairly objectively. Still it is a part of the larger society, and being an offshoot of our own Western culture and the Christian religion, it is sufficiently similar to familiar systems in the larger society to be understood. Finally, it is sufficiently slow-paced that the observer can have a better look at it than he can at a feverishly changing social unit. The study of the Old Order Amish helps provide the reader with a pattern by which he can look systematically at a more complex, more foreign, or more rapidly changing system.

ELEMENTS AND SPECIAL ELEMENTAL PROCESSES APPLIED TO THE OLD ORDER AMISH

KNOWING

Belief as an element. The Old Order Amish share common religious beliefs with all Christians, but they also subscribe to specific beliefs that differentiate them from other Christians and from other members of the larger society. The Amish are monotheistic; they have internalized God as a Father and Christ as the Son of God. Unlike Catholics, the Amish do not believe in salvation through the sacraments mediated by formally trained and ordained priests. They believe, as do other Protestants, in the supremacy of the Bible and the necessity for living and worshipping as prescribed by their interpretation of the Bible. Strict adherence to the Bible leads the Amish to the following tenets:

- 1) baptism only upon confession of faith;
- 2) complete separation of church and state;
- 3) absolute religious toleration for others;
- 4) absolute non-resistance;
- 5) opposition to the use of the oath;
- 6) individual determination of each person's salvation;
- 7) that church buildings and other facilities are unnecessary and inappropriate for the worship of God;
- 8) that each individual is responsible for his own salvation and that the Amish are a chosen people.

The Old Order Amish share with the larger society the belief in the scientific conduct of agriculture, but to a lesser extent than does the larger society. Scientifically demonstrated improvements in seed, in breed, and in crop and animal husbandry are accepted. Their belief system encompasses other aspects of science too, but the belief that they are God's people and a separate people drastically restricts their application of scientific beliefs to any pursuit except agriculture. Even in agriculture many technological devices are restricted in their use.

Cognitive mapping and validation as a process. The cognitive mapping done by the Old Order Amish takes its unique slant from two points of view. One comes from the bloody tales of martyrdom contained in *The Bloody Theatre, or Martyr's Mirror*; its tales

of retribution and punishment which occurred centuries ago are so completely internalized that they are relived in the present. In the Amishman's perception of reality the persecution of his forebears keeps him keenly aware of a past tragedy which could be repeated if he does not behave as behooves a member of God's chosen people. The second distinctive phase of apprehending reality is at once a cognitive mapping and a validation process; it is the utter reliance placed upon the Bible as interpreted by the group through the centuries, and especially upon particular Biblical verses. Among the most important bits of validation for the Amish cognitive mapping of the universe are Biblical injunctions which emphasize that they are separate from the world. One such injunction concerns "the unequal yoke" which validates the belief that an Amishman should not participate in any formal organizations and activities of the larger society. "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what fellowship hath light with darkness?" From the Amishman's point of view he has the perfect validation for his most important beliefs; he has Biblical justification for nonresistance, adult baptism, humility, and separation of church and state. The belief virtually contains its own validation.

The Amishman validates his belief in part of scientific agriculture by reproducing the conditions of the experimental process and getting the expected result through improved crops, herds, farm buildings, and so on. The Old Order Amishman is seriously hampered in full-fledged scientific validation, however, because of restrictions placed on "worldly" technical equipment. These restrictions are validated by the Bible. He shows much ingenuity in substituting efficient horse drawn equipment for tractor drawn machinery and in making other substitutions which approximate "scientific agriculture" without violating his taboos on equipment. His resourcefulness in bridging a scientific belief and a religious belief that are incompatible demonstrates the religious center of his cognitive mapping. It also shows the successful attempt to build a rationale which takes the existence and application of science into account. In short his is a religious belief system based upon the fundamental premise that he "be not conformed to this world" and that he "be separate from the world."³ All cognitive

Aspects of reality including scientific agriculture are shaped and molded according to this basic belief. For example, many farmers believe that the use of tractors which is forbidden by the norms would decrease profits. These beliefs are rather surprising and contrary to fact, a state of affairs which indicates that the process of cognitive mapping is capable of neglecting some pieces of evidence and over-emphasizing others in validation. The influence of the basic belief extends beyond the area of *knowing*; it affects *feeling, achieving*, and all of life.

FEELING

Sentiment as an element. The predominating patterns of emotion and sentiments of the Old Order Amish can easily be discerned. Awe and reverence are evoked by contemplation of the sacred, and this contemplation pervades nearly all activities. The Amish have sanctified the chores and tasks of every day life. They feel reverence, awe, and holiness in farm work, in contact with the market, and in accumulation of material goods as well as in religious services. The whole way of life is God-directed and therefore sanctified, and an Amishman *feels* the sanctification.

Although reverence is the dominant sentiment of the Amishman, it by no means precludes happiness and even occasional gaiety. He is sustained by a real enjoyment of his religion which provides him with a satisfaction and feeling of security with the universe. This religious-pastoral way of life nourishes the specific sentiments of self-discipline, love without over-indulgence for family members, affection and sympathy for a large number of relatives, intimate friendliness with other members of the church district, merriment on festive occasions, humility on all occasions, disgrace and embarrassment upon defection of any family member from the Amish way of life, and suspicion and uneasiness about those more secular aspects of life characteristic of the larger society.

Tension management and communication of sentiment as processes. The most important Amish activities for tension management are their religious *rites of passage* and *rites of intensification*. Birth, death, baptism, and marriage temporarily upset the equilibrium of interpersonal relations in the home, in friendship groups, and in the community. *Rites of passage* are the institu-

tionalized religious means of giving emotional support until a new equilibrium is established. Particular attention will be paid here to those rites of passage involving Amish youth—baptisms and weddings, for example—and to other tension management devices which seem particularly equipped to support the affected individuals through stressful periods.

—The baptismal ceremony inducts into the fellowship of the church the young people from ages 16 to 18 and up to the age of 20. Amish permit baptism only to those who give evidence of "true conversion." Parents encourage children to be baptized sometime after they finish school at fourteen and before they are twenty. The service is not as elaborate as one might think, in view of the great opposition and persecution met by the sect when it rejected infant baptism during the 16th century and afterwards. After baptism young people regularly attend the singings, which in themselves must be regarded as tension management devices, providing as they do an institutionalized means of courting, having fun, and interacting with other Amish youth. The other concessions to near-adult status perform the same function. Trips of families to Amish settlements in other parts of the country also lead to marriage. Secrecy, which may be a design to insure some privacy and thus be a tension management device, shrouds most of the preliminary preparations for the wedding, including the courting. During the courting period, for instance, the young man calls on the girl after she (apparently) and the family (actually) have retired. The young man drives up to the house and with the aid of a flashlight or buggy light makes his presence known. If the girl is interested, she quietly descends the stairs to meet the caller.⁴

Sometimes before the wedding a Schteckleimann, a deacon or minister, acts as a go-between to learn the attitude of the girl's parents concerning the possibility of the boy's marrying her. In the past this go-between carried a proposal to the girl; in more modern times the action of the Schteckleimann has been more a formality because the young people have usually decided to marry before his mission is made. The mission of the Schteckleimann must be performed in strict secrecy. Several weeks prior to the wedding date, the announcement is made at a church service. Custom decrees that the bride-to-be is not present at this service.

Weddings are important rites of passage, constituting the most important social events among the Amish and an occasion when the whole community communicates sentiment. In weddings as in singings the internal pattern of the community is clearly evident. From 100 to 300 friends and relatives attend in response to verbal invitations. Weddings usually occur during November, after the crops have been harvested and when there is time for elaborate preparations. The couples are usually in their twenties. Civil law requires that the young couple present themselves at the County Court House to apply for a marriage license. Sometimes as many as six to twelve Amish couples appear at the court house for the same reason and at the same time. State law requires that the couples must wait three days after application for the granting of the license. From then on the church handles proceedings. In fact, the church has a hand during the whole courtship and honeymoon period.

Tuesdays and Thursdays are favored wedding days which are occasions for great merriment. The noontime and evening feasts which are prepared would stagger even other rural people who are accustomed to large meals. After the wedding the couple makes special visits to all close relatives and friends many of whom participated in the wedding. On these visits they receive wedding gifts. This round of visiting may require several weeks and the young couple frequently spends a night or several nights at the houses of the numerous hosts. This is the Amish honeymoon.

Events other than the changed status of meaningful individuals can also disturb the equilibrium of a society. The threat or the fact of war is particularly disturbing to the Amish because of their non-resistance convictions. For such upsets in life's routine, *rites of intensification* help to restore the balance. Special prayers for divine guidance under such stressful conditions provide the Amish, like other members of religious systems the world over, "an opportunity to 'act out' some of the psychological products of strain . . . (and) give people a sense of 'doing something about it.'"⁵ Silent mealtime prayers are observed by all Amishmen; they are *rites of intensification* too, in that they mark the end of one set of activities and the beginning of another communal

activity calling for a different rate of interaction among the family members.

Communication of sentiment follows a typically *Gemeinschaft*-like pattern, being interspersed throughout activities that are not primarily social in nature. Work bees get certain work done, but they are also festive social occasions with good food, good fellowship, gaiety, and merry-making. On these occasions both the internal and external patterns alternate or become intermingled. Since many ordinary pleasures are prohibited—music, movies, radio, most reading, television, dining out, and dancing—the Amish turn to each other for fun, relaxation, and pleasure. Visiting, a frequent setting for the internal pattern, takes on an importance almost impossible for the outsider to comprehend. Before church services, after church services, on Sunday afternoons, and on many holidays, families visit with each other. They go to each others' homes incessantly and nevertheless complain about getting behind in their visiting obligations. In the midst of severe restrictions on expressive activity and on such expressive items as furniture or dress, which if used would indicate lack of humility, they use colorful items which combine utility with beauty. The flower gardens, bright but solid colors, embroidery designs, brightly colored dishes, and large picture calendars testify to the fact that these "plain" people also enjoy the expression of other than sober sentiments. Indeed the proper expression of sentiment does not deny enjoyment; it denies pride. A certain deliberateness and simplicity must accompany the display of sentiment, in order to be properly reverent before God to whom the most important of all expressions of sentiment are made. The Amish expression of sentiment is characterized by humility and by the rule that "love, not compulsion . . . must rule both the church and the world."⁶

ACHIEVING

End, goal, or objective as an element. Eternal life is the ultimate goal of the Amish. In the past the founders of the movement condoned certain methods of achieving this end, and some of these *methods of achieving salvation* have now become ends in themselves. "Full fellowship" with other Amishmen has become one such objective. Thrift, industry, good stewardship of

resources, and even accumulation of goods also have become objectives in themselves.

Goal attaining and concomitant "latent" activity as process. Whether the Amishman attains the goal of eternal life can never be proven or disproven. However, when all Amishmen are motivated toward this goal their unified and varied activity is discernible. These activities are called "latent" because the results are neither recognized nor intended. If thrift, industry, and careful stewardship lead to ultimate salvation, a certain measure of worldly success becomes equated with pursuance of the ultimate goal. Industry has become an end in and of itself, as well as serving a goal attaining function. Thus, when Christopher, the father and husband of the family overslept one morning, arising at 5:00 instead of the regular 4:00, he and the family talked about this as an important happening which required endless justification.⁷ When Amish people talk about the "gay" people in the area, in contrast to themselves and similar sects who are "plain," they refer to laziness and spendthriftiness. There is continuous discussion and delaying of needed purchases in an effort to avoid spending money. There is more talk about the money wasted on cars, tabooed modern conveniences, going to movies, and other practices of "gay" people than there is about the inherent immorality in these items and practices.

By almost all standards the Amish are successful farmers. The pressure to increase yields and improve products and income is tremendous. Although goal attaining activity requires a heavy expenditure for modern efficient facilities, it stops short of becoming involved in the use of "worldly" machinery, conveniences, or devices. The rationale for "worldly" is not clear to the outsider who wonders, for example, why the tractor for the use of belt power is accepted but its use for draft power in the field is taboo. Why is the gasoline engine on the washing machine or battery charger all right and the rubber-tired tractor for draft power or the family automobile "wicked." Why can a farmer who needs the telephone in his business use a pay-station or even have one installed in his out-house, but not in his home? The utilization of such facilities is based directly on the goal as it is viewed and the activity related to realizing that goal. It is hypothesized that in the pursuit of the goal those practices are institutionalized which

will not plunge the sect into deep contact with the outside world; that those practices are prohibited which would encourage a rapid interaction with the outside world, even though their use might sizeably increase profits.

"Full fellowship with other Amishmen" is a goal-attaining activity in that Biblical directives are compatible with it. And it too has become an end in itself. Those Amishmen deprived of full fellowship suffer extreme frustration, whereas for those in "full fellowship" the "Amish system provides 'social security' . . . from the womb to the tomb, and a certain guarantee of security even beyond the tomb."⁸

NORMING, STANDARDIZING, AND PATTERNING

Norm as an element. The most visible norms among the Amish are those that govern personal grooming, dress, house furnishings and farm operation. Amishmen wear long, bobbed hair, parted in the middle and banged across the forehead. Married men wear beards but not mustaches; unmarried and unbaptized men are usually clean-shaven. All males wear broad, full trousers which are held up by plain suspenders. Their dress coats have no lapels and no outside pockets; hooks and eyes are used rather than buttons. Broadbrimmed, flat straw hats are worn in summer and broadbrimmed, flat, black hats are worn in winter.

The women's dress is similarly standardized. Dresses are always of a solid color. Unmarried girls wear white aprons and married women wear aprons which may match the color of their dresses. Women's hair must not be cut or curled. Identical home-made bonnets and devotional head coverings are worn by both girls and women. Style changes over the generations are at a minimum and are made only after group deliberation and approval, and when scarcity or other factors make change necessary. Jewelry, pictures, and photographs are prohibited.

Hand flash lights with batteries are permitted, but electric current cannot be used as power in any form. Although many houses have running water from wells powered by ingeniously designed water wheels linked by cables, none may have indoor toilets. Fancy decorations in the houses are taboo. In the technological field autos, telephones, radios, and tractors for draft power are prohibited.

Perhaps the most important of the norms of the Amish deal with vocations. Only agriculture and a few related occupations such as rural carpentry and masonry are open to them. Only farming is thought to be harmonious with God's way; the city is considered the epitome of that which is "worldly." The importance of the taboo on non-agricultural occupations for a people with a relatively high replacement rate is obvious. The Amish farms have been reduced in size, the community boundaries have been moving outward, and new colonies have been established to meet this pressure on the land.

Most of the norms reinforce Amish belief in separation from the world and non-conformity to it. The cultivation of humility is reinforced by these norms. Pride is regarded as a cardinal sin. The norms barring membership in non-church organizations and affiliation with non-Amish people mean that the Amish avoid the organizations so common to the middle classes of the Western world. The doctrine of the "unequal yoke" supports this non-joining. "They do not join co-operatives, insurance companies, political groups, parent-teacher organizations, civic or social clubs, and they take no part in government-sponsored plans designed to aid them and other farmers."⁹

Interesting as the norms are in themselves, the constellation of different dress, non-joining, distinctive grooming, non-resistance, and agriculture-limited vocations represents the core of boundary maintenance.

Evaluation as a process. Despite the ready-made decisions in the form of norms which confronts each Amishman, his life is nevertheless beset with problems which require choices; in short he must evaluate. Amish family life is replete with cases of exceedingly difficult evaluative choices. One family became interested in dairy-cattle breeding. Time, money, and study went into the creation of a pure-bred herd which became so fine that in the eyes of the Amish community it represented sinful pride. The family had to make a choice: to dispense with the dairy herd which meant disposing of the work of years which had, by this time, become a compelling interest and achievement or to risk ex-communication. Other families face similar decisions. The congregation as a whole makes a group evaluation each time that it deliberates on the reported moral short-coming of a member.

It must weigh the transgression and mete out the punishment. Figure 1 gives some perspective to the evaluative process as carried out by the Amish relating concepts used by Merton to some used in the PAS Model.

It presents different methods of adaptation to life's situations, or as its author termed it, a "typology of modes of adaptation."¹⁰ What is here called ends and objectives Merton calls "culture goals" as shown on the chart. What Merton in this article calls "institutionalized means" includes norms, utilization of facilities, and goal attaining activities. The member "evaluates" when he calculates the results of his action in terms of his ends, and norms. For the Amishman to remain an Amishman he must accept the complex of items included in culture goals and must also use only the institutionalized means for the goal's attainment. He clearly falls within Type I from the point of view of his own communal social system. If he does not, sanctions are brought upon him and he must conform or leave. Both his ends and norms are at variance with those of many other important social systems in the larger society, but within his own social system he is a strict conformist as compared with members of most other social systems.

FIGURE 1 *

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

| <i>MODES OF ADAPTATION</i> | <i>CULTURE GOALS</i> <i>Ends</i> | <i>INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS</i> <i>Norms</i> |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| I. Conformity | Acceptance | Acceptance |
| II. Innovation | Acceptance | Rejection |
| III. Ritualism | Rejection | Acceptance |
| IV. Retreatism | Rejection | Rejection |
| V. Rebellion | Rejection of prevailing ends and substitution of new ones. | Rejection of prevailing norms and substitution of new ones. |

* Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1949), p. 133.

Utilization of Merton's typology as extended by Robert Dubin provides some insights into the adaptation of the Amish.¹¹ Since Dubin uses the concept, cultural goal, to describe what we call

societal goals and institutional norms to describe the norms of a sub-system, the general society and the Amish as systems may be considered at one time. He divides Merton's concept "institutionalized means" into institutional norms and means, the latter being "actual behaviors of people." Thus, the Amishman who developed the fine herd of dairy cows accepted the cultural goal and institutional norms but rejected and substituted means. In the Amish community's eyes, the family had substituted "pride" for the appropriate sentiment, "humility"; they had substituted an ostentatious herd for a utilitarian one. They were therefore, cast out. A form of Type IV, retreatism, is always latent for the Amish. Should the greater society exert pressures which would make the larger societal goals and norms mandatory, the Amish might reject both goal and norm and retreat by moving to some other location. The evaluative process has led to this result for a great many Amish groups in the past. The present location of Mennonite groups, of which the Amish are an off-shoot, in Manitoba, Canada, and in Latin America is the result of adaptation to "outside" goals and norms by retreat.¹²

DIVIDING THE FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Status-role incorporating both element and process. Simplicity marks the status-role pattern of the Amish where almost every family is a farm family, where conformity within the group is paramount, and where few sub-systems with differentiated status-roles exist. The division of labor is prescribed by sex roles in the family and community. The males carry on the heavy farm work and entrepreneurial functions of the farm enterprise; the females do the housework, care for the fowls, and do lighter field work. Age differentiation is indicated in part by grooming. The braided hair of the little girl gives way to the smoothly drawn tresses and bun at the nape of the neck as she matures. The smooth-shaven face of the youth becomes the bearded face of the married man who assumes a new status-role of head of a household. His open buggy used during courting days is replaced by the closed family-style buggy. Similarly, baptism brings the status-role of church member to the Amish youth, and he participates in church decisions, thus functioning in a status-role formerly closed to him. The youth as a suitor, as a worker, as a church

member, and as a son holds a number of status-roles, the expectancies of which are seldom uncertain. Though he may become restive and try to find out about the outside world, question the existing order, and cause his parents much anxiety before he marries and settles down, he is never uncertain about what he should expect of himself and what others expect of him. Other family status-roles in existence because of age and family position are those of

... the *Grossdawdy* and the *Grossmutter* who retire to their part of the house and find as much work outside as they care to do. *Grossmutter* sews during the day for children and grandchildren. This work keeps both of them healthily occupied as long as they are active. If they need attention younger members of the family are near. It is doubtful that old people anywhere are more contented than the occupants of the *Grossdawdy* house who can associate daily with their children and grandchildren and yet be separate.¹³

The most important church-community status-roles in this social system, devoid of formally trained leaders, are those of minister, deacon, and bishop. Ordinarily each of the 33 districts in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania has several ministers, one deacon, about 80-100 baptized members and that many or more younger people. Every two districts has one bishop.

After the status-roles of family members, church members, and officials the most important role is that of teacher. Since only the vocation of farming and closely related occupations are open to the Old Order Amish, the teachers are usually from more liberal "plain people" sects. The Amish attempt to have such teachers for their small district schools, because they understand and sympathize with the strict norms of the Amish better than those of "gay" origin. Her grooming and dress may resemble but not be the same as those of the children.

Though the choice of status-roles seems extremely limited to the outsider accustomed to the highly specialized division of labor of the larger society, those of the Amish community feel that the status-roles available in their system give much scope to individual differences in interests and ability.

When informants were asked about varied ambitions on the part of their children, they replied that farming offers adequate opportunity

to give expression to these differences. Even in a specialized form of farming, variations are possible in approach and execution. The opportunity to exercise special talents in farming was also stressed. Soil, stock, crop, and marketing problems are cited in abundance to demonstrate this point. "Why, a good farmer does not even treat two cows, two horses, or even two pigs alike."¹⁴

RANKING

Rank as an element. Among the Amish rank differences are not extreme. The Amish community eliminates some rank differentiation available to non-Amishmen. In the Amish social entity everyone has the same amount of schooling; everyone is in farming or allied trades; everyone wears the same kind of clothes; everyone drives the same kind of buggy. Nonetheless ranks can be distinguished. The individual who has been successful as both a church leader and a farmer is ranked higher than the church leader who in turn outranks the successful farmer. The farm owner has a higher rank than the farm renter who outranks the farm laborer. The old person, other things being equal, commands higher rank than the young. Young men and women often line up by age to march into the church services and the position in the line often indicates ranking. Of the approximate 16 bishops in Lancaster County, it is the five oldest whose counsel is regarded as most important.

Evaluation as a process in ranking and allocation of status-roles. Rank differentiation foretells the bases of the evaluative process. The community gives a high evaluation to the successful Amish farmer who demonstrates church leadership. This means that he must familiarize himself with the scriptures and show that he is in sympathy with church regulations and practices. An exemplary life is highly esteemed. So are those whose farming enterprises have been so successful that their houses are large enough to hold 200 or more persons in church meetings. They are generally evaluated more highly than those with smaller houses. Also the more valuable the livestock, the better it is cared for, the more productive and fertile the farm, and the better it is kept the higher the social rank of the owner.

Age and wisdom are assumed to be related. In general, the older the person the higher the rank. When old age impairs facul-

ties, especially the mental ones, however, rank likewise suffers. The importance of achievement and capacity to achieve is always important in rank among the Amish. Despite such mundane evaluations, it is important to remember that the basic ends, beliefs, and sentiments of the Amish emphasize Godliness, humility, and "full fellowship." Honor and high standing are accorded to those whose lives exemplify these qualities. Once an Amishman ceases to incorporate these qualities in his life he ceases to be an Amishman. Hence the basic evaluative process tends to accord undifferentiated standing to individuals; the rank differences are hardly more than subtle over-lays in an evaluative process which, more than any other known to the author, results in near equality of rank.

The nearly equal accordance of rank is of course related to the lack of specialization of status-roles within the system. Only one important status-role among the Amish is allocated in an unusual and dramatic fashion; its allocation depends to a degree on the evaluation of the actor before the assignment, and after its allocation the rank of the incumbent is almost bound to increase. A minister is chosen from among the members of the congregation as Matthias was selected to become one of the Apostles.

All baptized members of the congregation participate and any man who receives as many as three votes is entered for the selection ceremony which is solemn and formal. Bibles of similar outward appearance are placed on a table, one for each candidate. A slip of paper is hidden from view in one Bible. On this slip is usually a Biblical verse which designates that the chooser must give his life to his new post. Candidates file past the table and each picks a Bible. The one who chooses the Bible with the slip of paper is said to be chosen by God to serve and is ordained immediately. The status-role of bishop, considered higher than that of preacher, is filled from the preachers' ranks. In spite of the great honor that assignment to the status-role of minister carries with it, the family of the chosen minister is usually sad and he is usually filled with trepidation. He has placed upon him a tremendous responsibility. Large segments of the Bible must be memorized in high German, and sermons of one hour and a half or longer must be memorized since the use of notes is prohibited. Hundreds of hours of reading and studying are in prospect al-

though the new minister may not necessarily be studious by inclination. A large part of the heavy farm work load that had been his must be taken over by other members of the farm family. Families whose husband-father is chosen as minister are often said to go through a period of weeping and mourning not unlike those experienced at the death of a member.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element. The control of the parents over the child is the most prominent example of Amish power relations. There is no question but that the husband and father holds the authority of the family. His power is cushioned by the Christian doctrine that stresses mercy and understanding and by his anxiety that his children might go "gay" or break with the church. The wife and mother holds authority too. The Amish family, like most American families, has an authority pattern that is discernible but much less rigid than that which operates within a work team in a factory or other bureaucratic setting. Both father and mother influence the controls of each other, and there is a reciprocal influence exerted between the children and their parents, although the children have less power than do the parents. The fact that the parents hold the purse strings and make the necessary contributions to substantial dowries and toward the later economic independence of the children is a controlling factor of great importance.

The ministers, deacons, and bishops exert more control over community affairs related to the church than do ordinary members of the congregation. The authority of the deacon is illustrated by his right and duty to initiate the disciplining of members who have violated regulations. He also manages the poor fund. In crises that involve the whole community the influence of the ministers, deacons, and bishops becomes more obvious and it is usually those of highest rank who exercise the greatest power. This is not always true, however, for in a given situation special experience or abilities may carry more influence than does rank.

Decision making and its initiation into action as process. The locus and balance of power in the family as well as in the church and community can best be observed when decisions are made. The husband and father initiates important family decisions and

usually directs their execution. He is the primary initiator of action in the external pattern. Nevertheless, the rarity of arbitrary decisions is impressive. The tempering effect of the children's and wife's influence on paternal authority is illustrated in the following instances of decision making. Conversations such as these at meal-time often led to decisions. "David, you might mend the fence in the south pasture today. The cows are going to get into the corn." "The fence in the ridge pasture is in much worse shape, Father; there are at least three places there where the stock can get out if they try hard enough." "Well, then, why don't you fix the fences in both pastures. Do the ridge pasture first if you think it's so much worse, but I want the south pasture fence fixed before tomorrow, or we're going to lose our corn." There were decisions to make concerning the mother's sphere of work too. "I made a deal with the poultry farm yesterday. They are holding four dozen chickens for us. Maybe you could take time this afternoon to go over with me and help me bring them home." "I don't know where I'm going to put four dozen chickens. We'll need another coop first. Do we have to get them today?" "No, I guess the poultry farm could hold them for another day or two. I'll get the chicken wire and lumber and make the coop this afternoon or tomorrow. We'll get the chickens tomorrow afternoon instead."

A recurring cause for decision making revolves around the disciplinary problems handled by all the baptized of the congregation. The person charged with the breach of the rules and all unbaptized persons leave the meeting. The deacon repeats the charges and reviews the circumstances. Unanimity of decision concerning the offender is the ideal, but frequently this cannot be attained. Actually, majority vote carries less weight than a decision by the ministers and deacons who are, it is believed, chosen by divine influence. On very important congregational matters or on community matters which involve a number of congregations the bishop may be summoned. The bishop is usually slow to arrive at a decision, but once he nods his head in approval the opinions of the congregation are likely to coalesce in agreement. Thus, "the bishop's nod" has come to be practically synonymous with ultimate decision.

SANCTIONING

Sanction as an element. The most interesting and powerful sanction among the Amish is negative—the *Meidung* or shunning. The *Meidung* shuts off the violator from communication with any member of the congregation—his family, his friends, his neighbors. Its very existence as a possible consequence of indiscreet behavior is a powerful force toward conformity. Other negative sanctions include public “confession of fault” accompanied by promises not to repeat the offense and public apologies. Positive sanctions include the support the conforming member feels from the knowledge that aid and comfort in time of need would immediately be forthcoming.

The program of brotherly love and mutual aid, founded on definite scriptural injunctions, is still maintained. . . . The Amish take care of their own poor, and none of them is now on relief. Members in distress still receive aid from fellow members, particularly if reverses result from “acts of God.”¹⁵

Application of sanctions as process. The cases of offenders are brought before the entire baptized congregation. A serious offense such as cursing or operating an automobile may result in being refused participation in the Lord’s Supper and full fellowship until amends are made. If the violator refuses to make amends he may be shunned by all the church members including his own family and may eventually be excommunicated. The example of David Sussfuss and his milk truck illustrates the process of *Meidung* or shunning.

David Sussfuss had a milk route in Lancaster which he and his family had built up over a period of seven years. Customers began to cancel their standing orders and usually they gave the same reason—the milkman failed to deliver regularly. This was not the first time that the Sussfuss family had failed to get a responsible and dependable non-Amishman with a truck to act as their delivery man. Customers had fallen off gradually and now with such alarming rapidity that the livelihood of the family was at stake. The whole family had spent long hours in prayer over the matter, and they finally decided to buy a truck by which to make their own deliveries. Immediately in executive session after the bi-

weekly sermon the deacon consulted the congregation. David was told to get rid of the truck and ask forgiveness. In the following weeks while David made deliveries with the truck, not one person of the community spoke to him or to any member of his family or in any way acknowledged their existence. Close friends and neighbors of many years walked past them with unseeing eyes; playmates simply did not see or hear the Sussfuss children; they disregarded them completely. Close relatives of David's wife—her sisters and parents—were deaf and blind to her presence. It was as if they did not exist. The Sussfusses cried and prayed day and night but could see no way to remain dairy farmers without having a truck. Finally they looked into joining the Church Amish or New Order Amish which permits the use of cars and trucks. When last heard of, they were gradually becoming acquainted with the Church Amish, many of whom had gone through similar experiences. Few forgot the horrible experience of being shunned by their closest friends and kin. It is reported that some Old Order Amish who have been shunned and returned to the fold tell of suffering for days from such ailments as amnesia. Suicide under these conditions is not unknown.

Those who follow the norms, however, can count on aid and assistance when they need it. The financial aid given one father is an example of a positive sanction. Sickness in the family had caused a financial crisis. The father found that he could borrow money from the bank at six per cent interest but that he would have to get someone with property to sign for security. He described trying to get a cosignatory:

The first Amish fellow I went to said he guessed he better not. He hated to turn me down but his father said "never go anybody's note." The second fellow didn't know what to do. He went to ask his mother and I saw him come out of the door with a checkbook and a note pad. I didn't know what would happen. He said "I can't sign for you but I can give you the money if you'll pay me four per cent. You don't have to pay this year." I was so glad I could cry. I was in a tight place . . .

FACILITATING

Facility as an element. The Amish emphasis upon humility and their avoidance of sinful pride makes them peculiarly unreliable

to the collection of material things. The facilities of worship and of everyday living are consequently not nearly so plentiful as they are for more ritualistic and more materialistic social systems.

On the other hand the self-conscious avoidance of religious paraphenalia and of personal, occupational, and household luxuries carries with it a preoccupation about "things." In this sense every item prescribed by custom and church rule is essential in that it cannot be substituted by another item; it becomes a facility. The house or barn serving as a church, since special church buildings are sinful, is obviously a facility as is all the agricultural equipment of the farmyard and the household. Those items particularly distinctive of Amish culture—the open buggies of the young men and the closed ones of the family, their clothes, the particular style of household architecture which allows great areas to be opened into each other for church meetings, must all be regarded as facilities. Facilities necessary for the religious services may, at the outset, seem simple as compared with religious services rich in symbolism and ritual. But in lieu of church buildings, pews, altars, flowers, organ music, choirs, and other common Christian religious facilities, other facilities have come to prevail for the Amish.

Utilization of facilities as process. The fortnightly Sunday church meetings among these people involve longer and more intimate interaction than do the church services of any other group known to the author. First of all the family which is to hold the meeting must put house, barn, and yards in order. Kitchen ranges and heating stoves are polished and even the walls may be freshly painted or washed. Since the service may be held in the barn, particularly in the summer, the lower story barn walls may be whitewashed and the cement floor swept. Meeting-benches must be hauled to the place, bread and food must be bought or baked. Bread, butter, apple butter, pickled beets, other pickles, apple or schnitz pies and coffee are prescribed for the Sunday meal by church regulations. On Sunday morning everybody shakes hands and preachers greet each other with the holy kiss as commanded in the Bible. The religious services usually last from 9:00 A.M. until noon or frequently until 1:00 P.M. but many worshippers arrive by 8:00. There is considerable singing from the old hymn book, the *Ausbund* written in High German. More visit-

ing takes place after the church services. If there are disciplinary problems these are considered after the last hymn by those of the congregation who are members. Visiting goes on for hours after the noon meal and close friends and relatives of the host may stay for supper. The thirty-three church districts each contain some 70 to 100 members but since membership is withheld until people are in the late teens, at which time they can be baptized, these church meetings are usually attended by twice as many people as there are members.

The very avoidance of facilities in the pursuit of agriculture makes them extremely important. In fact the rejected facilities both in the church service and in farming reveal as much about the evaluative judgments of the members of the social system and about their objectives as do the approved facilities. The forbidden facility is often not disapproved of because of any intrinsic characteristic of the facility, but because interaction patterns in the group itself might be disrupted if the facility were adopted.

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication. The intense interaction of the Amish serves an important function in passing information, decisions, and directives throughout the system. This interaction for a people denied much of the mass media of the larger society becomes the chief method of communication. Newspapers may supply the information and knowledge, but it is face-to-face interaction that reinforces opinions and attitudes. The spectacle of similar sects that have allowed the abolition of a few taboos only to be rapidly acculturated into the prevailing "worldly" society is another form of communication uniquely important to the Old Order Amish. The bi-lingual and sometimes tri-lingual ability of the Amish must also be regarded as an important communication method by which they can interact with the greater society in business and other pursuits on the one hand, but on the other, maintain through language itself a sustained integration. In a way not common to the larger society, normatively prescribed appearance constitutes a communication medium. The young Amishman communicates, in effect, by his high visibility, were he to attempt to enter a cinema or tavern. Likewise, he communicates his status-role by his

grooming and his dress. Despite the limitations placed upon the mass media, the Amishman is informed of outside affairs through his newspaper and has a most efficient system of communication for the parochial happenings of his immediate world.

Boundary Maintenance. No process is more important in the life of the Amish than boundary maintenance; without hard and fast boundaries of conduct as well as spatial boundaries, their ways would change and their system disintegrate. This process is therefore related to every single element and process that makes up Amish life and puts it in motion. What appears here is a selection from all the elements and processes which forms the core of the boundary maintenance process.

The Amish have specialized in a way of life founded on the belief that they are "God's peculiar people" who are "not conformed to the world" and who should not be "unequally yoked together with unbelievers." Every act of life becomes one designed to keep the group intact and untouched by meaningful contacts with individuals outside its own boundaries.

The sanctified nature of farming permits the maintenance of certain boundaries. No Amishman needs further education; no Amishman needs seek a job in a non-Amish community; and no Amishman engages in an occupation that does not involve the whole family. The sentiment of humility provides a rationale for "plain" and standardized grooming and dress, boundary maintenance devices in themselves. "Full fellowship" with other Amishmen demands strict conformity to the system's norms. Grooming, dress, house furnishings and farm operation methods and facilities tend effectively to set the Amish off from members of the larger society.

The simplicity of the status-role pattern and the limited number of status-roles available to the individual insures against little pyramids of special occupational interests. Commonly shared status-roles means commonly shared life styles; it maximizes integration and minimizes the splintering of interests. A uniform and clearly understood power and rank system which leaves the most important allocation of power up to God minimizes the competition for power and rank and fosters integration. The awful fate of him who is either shunned or excommunicated can scarcely be imagined by those who have a number of important reference

groups and whose ideas of a personal heaven and hell may be hazy. The Amishman has only one membership group and very few reference groups and his idea of heaven and hell is explicit. Each sanction has been described as "a living death."

The excommunication of members was an awful and solemn procedure. The members to be expelled had been notified in advance and were absent. An air of tenseness filled the house. Sad-faced women wept quietly; stern men sat with faces drawn. The bishop arose; with trembling voice and with tears on his cheek he announced that the guilty parties had confessed their sin, that they were cast off from the fellowship of the church and committed to the devil and all his angels.¹⁶

Every article used by the Amish that marks them as "different" from the members of the larger society is a boundary maintaining device. If they should forget for one moment that forbidden facilities maintain boundaries they have but to look at what has resulted for other Old Order Amish groups when they have compromised on facilities.

They see this in the difficulties other nonconformity groups are having after modifying their conduct with reference to certain "worldly" practices or conveniences. For instance, after some branches of the Mennonite and Amish churches made concessions regarding the automobile, the tractor for field work, and the English language for religious services, it was difficult to maintain certain other long-established practices. Men cut their hair shorter and shorter and eventually some adopted the prevailing hair cut; beards became shorter and in time were discarded by some; suits became less extreme in appearance, and some men even bought "store suits." Women departed from old standards in that printed goods were used in dresses, devotional head coverings became smaller, and some of the women curled their hair. In services, part-singing was introduced by stages. One change has led to another, until most of the outstanding nonconformity practices have become things of the past.¹⁷

Under a system which makes the old a sacred trust and the new something to be wary of, the Amish have succeeded in erecting a boundary against the surrounding society which tends to be scornful of the past and uncritical of the new.

Institutionalization. The most essential features of the institutionalization of the elements of the Amish social system began to be formed 400 years ago as their antecedents, the Swiss Brethren,

denied the efficacy of organized religion. As a result of their revolt against the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed churches "thousands of harmless, pious souls, with no other desire than to worship God in their own way, were put to death with the concurrence of both state and church, often under great torture . . . wherever . . . they were found."¹⁸ Their beliefs and need for support under such conditions led to the postulate of "a separate people," "a people apart," unyoked to the worldly groups about them. Practices consistent with the postulate emerged and gradually were institutionalized in the norms elaborated above. Resulting status-roles about which the division of labor is organized are perhaps the simplest of any collectivity of comparable size in the modern world and because they are so highly institutionalized are among the most predictable.

If the reader were to focus his attention completely on the Amish community, and not for the moment see it surrounded by other "worldly" communities, it would be easy to conclude that here was a life pattern, institutionalized in a completely harmonious way around the three chief interlocking social sub-systems—the family, the church, and the occupation. Expectancy patterns would be so completely fulfilled at each point of interaction that solidarity, security, and freedom from stress would seem inherent in the system. The Amish created a new way of life for themselves. To protect that system all the most ordinary pursuits were prescribed—where to live, what to wear, when to quit school, when to marry, how to rear children.

Systemic linkage. But let the reader broaden his focus to include the larger social groups among which the Amish as individuals move, and points of strain immediately become apparent. Despite the communal aspect of worship, mutual aid, and blood interrelatedness, Amish enterprise is private. Property is owned and taxes paid by families interacting within the total society. Families buy and sell in the non-Amish market and are dependent upon the general economy. They compete economically with non-Amish families in the production and distribution of goods. Their methods of farming and hauling are subject to many prohibitions, designed to preserve the Amish community, not to help the farmer compete. When there is pressure to change—a dairy farmer may, for example, feel it necessary to have a newly in-

vented item of equipment—tremendous stress may develop, in part at least, because none of the existing norms of the Amish apply to the new situation. Can the unmarried men have a car? Under what circumstances if at all can mixed couples go riding? Linkage with another and different social system requires reestablishment of norms and new institutionalization of behavior, and weakens boundary maintenance.

Some of the institutionalized patterns of behavior designed to preserve the Amish society are incompatible with the basic laws and norms of the general society. Compulsory attendance at a school which meets minimum standards is a case in point. Since the Amish do not believe in education beyond the primary grades, they cannot recruit from their own group teachers who meet state standards. The teacher, who holds an influential position, is consequently recruited from another community. She may represent a highly valued role-model to which the Amish youngster can not aspire and still maintain his faith. This bit of linkage with another social system provides a situation which can be beset by conflict and strain.

To the Amish parents the stress is no less great. They see their children, whom they fervently hope will remain in the faith, influenced by a person who commands the children's admiration and respect and who is in a prestigious position which is denied them. Petitions from the Amish for control of their own schools have usually been met with rebuffs from those in control in the larger society to whom it seems wicked and un-American to deny children a broad education under well-trained teachers.

A similar strain threatens the Amish youth when they solicit services from outside professionals—doctors, lawyers, and the like. The prestige of these roles is no less apparent to the Amish than to the non-Amish, and desire of Amish youth to emulate these professionals and gain the same kind of prestige can be a deterrent to the full use of professional services. Thus, the attempt is made to regard the hiring of all such services as a purely business proposition and to avoid any affective or diffuse relations.

When a young Amishman leaves his church to become a member of a more liberal one the typical expression is: "He got his hair cut." Should he leave both Amish and Mennonite fellowship, "He went English."¹⁹ Parents continually worry lest children be

"lost" in this manner. The Amish community is in constant fear that the general society will pass laws or enforce existing laws that will force the Amish to violate their norms. Compulsory high school attendance, consolidated schools, and enforced military service are continual threats. In the last war Amish youths served in various capacities in conscientious objector camps which, it is claimed, led many to lose their faith. Under similar threats many groups have moved to countries promising freedom from obligations that violate their basic norms. The Amish must maintain a readiness for leaving farms and homes which are the work of many years and in some cases generations. Material things "of this world" must be devaluated and group integration fostered to maintain this readiness.

Although voting has been discouraged in the past, Amishmen and even their wives have recently voted in school elections to prevent the consolidation of schools. This voting indicates the nature of the dilemma confronting the members of a social system that is integrated around beliefs, ends, and norms that are at variance with those of the dominant larger society. Voting may violate the norms and taboos designed to avoid the "unequal yoke," but non-voting would permit the non-Amishmen to force school consolidation thus establishing "the unequal yoke" in another form and subjecting the Amish children to forces which would call into question their values and beliefs. The Amishman is "bedamned if he does" and "bedamned if he doesn't" vote. As yet no institutionalized mechanism has been developed to remove the stress from either voting or non-voting, but one must emerge if effective linkage between the Amish system and the general society is to be maintained.

By definition systemic linkage is the process whereby the elements of at least two systems come to be articulated so that in some ways they function as a unit. For the most part, the Amish community illustrates resistance to linkage at all costs. Nevertheless, a small but increasing linkage with the outside world is actually taking place. Only in recent years have the Amish participated in cow-testing associations sponsored by the county agent. A good many have joined a Cooperative Egg and Poultry Auction Association and some have joined the Inter-State Milk Producers' Cooperative. The Lancaster County Swiss Cheese

Company, although controlled by the Amish, has some non-Amish members and represents at least a slight tolerance of the "unequal yoke."

Various government programs developed through the agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture also force participation. Not to participate and not receive various available payments would result in penalizing family and community. Thus systemic linkage with the outside cannot be said to be absent, but it is relatively less important here than in most social groups. Specific examples of technological change resulting from social cultural linkage are the following: Electricity, though it may not be used for power or light, has been used for wire fences and in hen houses, to increase production. The various facilities of non-Amish neighbors such as telephones are frequently used. Gasoline engines are used to power washing machines and other equipment in the place of tabooed electricity. Increasing use is made of various professions and vocations related to medicine, law and finance which are tabooed as status-roles for Amishmen.

Socialization. The chief job facing parents in transmitting the social and cultural heritage of the Amish is to see that the child accepts his "difference" from members of other groups, that he accepts his occupation of farmer or associated work, and that he accepts the Amish idea of God and religion.

Children must be told why they cannot have clothes, bicycles, and many toys like those of other children; why the family cannot have electric lights, a car, a radio. The total impression of the children must be one of separateness, difference and one of strong disapproval of the world and all its doings. That the children may understand the religious services and read available religious books, including the Bible, they must be taught to speak and read German.²⁰

The same writer commends the success with which the parents cultivate in their children a sense of values which centers their interests and plans on farming. The chief adult model is of course a farmer. Definite farm tasks are assigned each boy and girl at an early age, and it is always taken for granted that the children will some day farm. Boys and girls of eight and nine regularly help in the house and do chores and field work; nearly all of them milk cows at this age and the boys have usually begun doing field

work with horses and implements by this time. Failure to farm or engage in a closely related activity is regarded as total failure and is a disgrace to the family and to the community. Children's play impressively brings out the limited scope of life for which the Amish child is being socialized. Children play that they are mothers and fathers and, of course, children; but not that they are policemen or any of dozens of status-roles enacted by children in the "gay" society of the outside world. Since there is no place in the belief system for war and strife, boys do not carry on mock gun battles; actual fighting among siblings and peers is at a minimum. The author marveled at the relative absence of conflict in the family with whom he lived. He concluded that the pattern of struggle was not internalized because the children were kept from the outside world and the virtues of love and kindness were extolled. These virtues and other elements of the Amish culture are nurtured within the family, church, and community. Boundary maintenance devices reduce to a minimum the outside influences, for children who in school or elsewhere internalize to any considerable extent incompatible ends, norms, beliefs, and sentiments from the outside may "go gay" and leave the community.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Territoriality. The Lancaster County Old Order Amish community is composed of approximately 150 square miles with 33 church districts and several schools. A larger proportion of people are known to each other than in any community of similar geographical size and population known to the author. Most families are linked to the various areas of the community by close family ties.

The social processes and elements in the system lead to a most interesting ecological phenomena. The high value placed on separation from the non-Amish people places a high premium upon living near the center of the community. Almost all community members prefer to live in the center so that all children attend a given school and most contacts are with other Amishmen. The fact that the horse and buggy, not the automobile, must be used places relatively greater centripetal pressure on the land than is so in other rural areas in the United States. Also a factor of selectivity operates. Families who develop liberal tendencies

or "go gay" and who own land in the center of the community often sell their land for very high prices to the more conservative who desire that location. This tends to increase the conservatism of the center. In time the value of farms is determined by the distance from the center of the community rather than by their relative productivity or money-making potential. Wealthy Amishmen who live in the center may buy land from non-Amishmen on the fringes and by hiring or renting to Amishmen of lower rank build up the usually rundown land left by non-plain people.

AN AMISH CHURCH ADOPTS THE AUTOMOBILE²¹

A Case of Successful Systemic Linkage

As in every instance of evaluation and decision making, the adoption of the automobile by the Old Order Amish, which we shall call The Hoog Church, has a particular history. The Hoog group was one of four House Amish religious communities in Pennsylvania County. The House Amish groups were more conservative than the four Church Amish groups in the County. The Hoog group was the most progressive of the House Amish, resembling the most conservative of the Church Amish as much as they did the next most progressive group of House Amish. The Hoog group originated fifty years ago as an offshoot of the then most progressive of the House Amish. While the group shares the same general culture as other Amish in the territory the details differ considerably. Shirts, suspenders, and in some instances broadfall trousers are purchased when available at the nearby store. Buttons are permitted on work jackets. The men's hair extends over part of the ear, which is considerably shorter than the hair length for men in the next most progressive group. Tractors, including those with rubber tires, are used for farming operations. The brims of men's hats are smaller than those of all other Amish. Until the acceptance of automobiles carriage tops were black. The ban on the use of electricity was lifted 10 years ago; since that time farms have been modernized considerably. Farming is completely modern and tractor-oriented but religion centers in house worship. *Norms and boundary maintenance de-*

vices had already been relaxed. Partial systemic linkage with the larger society in agricultural practices had already been achieved.

For a number of years members of the Hoog Group used tractors in the field and for farm work. With the appearance of pneumatic tires, they were also used on the road, to pull wagons to town and to run errands to nearby farms. Several members installed high speed transmissions especially for road work. During deer hunting season tractors could be seen on the mountain where they were parked while their operators were hunting. The tractors were equipped with huge platforms on the rear for hauling milk. Boxes were also attached in which Amish youngsters were transported. One church official of the group commented to the writer: "This seemed inconsistent to me and I was afraid to be seen on the road anymore with the tractor." *The objective of occupational efficiency was added and was sometimes in conflict with the old objective of remaining "God's peculiar people."* New norms were institutionalized, new facilities added to accomplish the old objective of making money, an objective given a higher priority by the evaluative process.

Some of the younger members commented on the inconsistency of driving rubber-tired farm tractors on the road, but using horses for transportation to church. One informant predicted, "It won't be long until some change will have to be made. When the youngsters grow up they will not understand why horses must be used on Sunday, when rubber-tired tractors can be used during the week."

Members often traveled long distances, to and from other Amish settlements in the state or even beyond in order to maintain contact with relatives who had migrated. They often hired taxicabs or the service of a neighboring Church Amish member for whom automobiles were not taboo. *Communication and interaction patterns could not be maintained under the old norms. Strain resulted.* One of the bishops of the Church Amish informed a minister of the group: "You cannot expect to keep up this practice."

Some of the parents bought or financed autos for the young men who had become members of the Church Amish. There were no dominant negative sanctions for such generous acts on the part of the House Amish father to his Church Amish son as there

was in stricter Amish groups. In this way the entire family had transportation. *Note that members of the same family held memberships in two different church groups, a type of systemic linkage.*

The desire for automobiles became dominant in informal conversation among some of the members. One farm hand in particular constantly kept ribbing his employer, a minister of the group, about inconsistency, and the difficulty of hitching up horses. Horses were too much trouble, too slow a form of transportation, and besides it was dangerous to drive a carriage on the open highway. This informal conversation and "egging" undoubtedly played a significant part in preparing the minister for a favorable decision later when the time came for a nod in the church. *Communication about new norms to a person holding a status-role vested with power was important.*

No amount of informal conversation concerning the desire for an automobile could make the subject legitimate for discussion in church. Only if some person violated the restriction could it be discussed. Early one spring a young man of a well-thought-of family became the first offender. Without the consent of his family and church he purchased a used automobile under considerable pressure from a used car dealer. The youngster had secured a learner's permit; he drove the automobile to the home of his parents. The father objected to having the car on his property, and after a good deal of persuasion on the part of his parents, the sixteen-year-old boy returned the car to the dealer with the promise from his parents that he could have it back if the church should come to a favorable decision whenever the subject came up for discussion. *The objective of full fellowship was important to the family as was the Godliness represented by the Church.*

In the following week, a young married man who was employed in the nearby village purchased a new automobile. He kept it at the place of his employment, continuing to use his tractor to commute to and from work. With the aid of another friend he had taken a driver's test and satisfactorily passed it.

In the latter instance the offender was immediately excommunicated for purchasing a car, and in order to be received again into full fellowship he was advised to put it away until the church could come to a unanimous decision on the ownership of auto-

mobiles. He sold his new auto to a friend for one dollar, and after the church had approved, he took it back. Meanwhile, a brother of the young married man was offended that his brother was excommunicated; in retaliation he also purchased an automobile. Like his brother, he too was promptly excommunicated. *Rank is evidenced here; evidently the two excommunicated brothers had lower rank than the first offender who was granted an immunity from the negative sanctions.* By this time the officials of the church had enough justification to bring up the question for discussion and taking the "Rot" or vote of the membership. *The status-role of the officials is here articulated. They use their power to initiate the evaluation and decision-making processes.*

Following the excommunications, informal discussions continued. Meetings were held informally in the homes. The second offender, in desperation for help, on a Sunday afternoon went to see the bishop of one of the Mennonite (Church Amish) congregations. He informed the bishop of his predicament and stated his desire to become a member of the Mennonite Church. The bishop advised him not to be in a hurry about joining another church. The next day the third offender came to the same bishop stating his desire to join the Mennonite Church. The bishop suggested to him that he call a meeting with other persons who, like himself, wanted to have an automobile. About 30 persons both men and women came to the meeting which was held in a private home. *Members intimately acquainted and sharing the same need, continue to reinforce sentiments and opinions and evaluate action through informal communication.* The bishop, accompanied by one of his assistant ministers, stated his position and read the Bible and led prayer. He explained that for people to join a church because they want an auto "usually doesn't help the church they jump into." He advised them to take the matter to their own ministers and see whether they couldn't come to some solution. The bishop's position was that in the previous years he had received many of the Amish members for no other reason than that they wanted automobiles. He was not interested in having more members of that kind, or just for that reason. *The bishop realized that his church as a social system was a complex of belief, sentiments, objectives and norms. Agreement on one*

norm, perhaps this one concerning automobiles in particular, is not enough to insure dedication to the whole system.

The six ordained men of the Hoog group in the meantime had counselled with each other informally. None of them opposed the on-coming automobile question, but one wife did. "Where will this lead to, if our young people are given the privilege of going wherever they want?" was the chief objection she raised. *Sentiments and opinions were formed and modified by the communication process.*

The decision finally came before the assembled church. The process of decision making has been defined as the reduction of the alternate courses of action available so that some course of action can take place. Since the Amish church provides that each district maintain its own regulations and discipline it was up to the Hoog group to decide.

The "Rot" is usually taken at the members' meeting following the worship service. The two deacons polled the church, one taking the vote among the men and the other among the women. The bishop as a rule states the opinion of the ministry on any issue up for consideration, after which the membership affirms the minister's decisions, disapproves of them, or remains neutral on the question. *The process of decision making had become institutionalized.* The terms used to describe the outcome of the vote may be three: unanimous, practically unanimous, or not unanimous. In this case the report was practically unanimous in favor. Only four persons did not give assent, and they chose to join a stricter conservative Amish Church in the community. *Those in conflict with the new norms sought a group whose objectives, norms and sentiments would be like theirs.*

On the following Sunday at worship services eight automobiles were present. Several weeks later most of the members came in automobiles, and today from 40-50 automobiles are parked in a single barnyard with perhaps one or two carriages present. Only four of a total of 70 household heads have not purchased autos, and all of these are old people. Members were advised to secure only black automobiles or to have them painted black, and they were not to drive trucks.

The bishop had his own view of what had happened. The general practice of using tractors for road work and business trips

to town helped to bring on the automobile. The bishop felt it was not so much the fault of the young people as it was the fault of the parents—those who purchased automobiles for their boys who were either not yet members or were members of Church Amish groups. The frequent practice of young drivers dropping their parents off at preaching and then returning for them after the service was a primary reason for the innovation, according to the bishop.

The legitimization of the automobile by the Amish Church is a case of successful linkage of the Amish social system with that of the outside world. The change agent in this case was the group of Amish "young Turks" who advocated and successfully introduced the automobile into the Amish community. The target system, as the recipient of the "egging" and the direct attempts at innovation, was the Amish community represented by the ministers whose objectives, at first, were the maintenance of the status quo.

The results of the systemic linkage which brought the automobile to the Hoog group will take some time to manifest themselves. After all the boundary maintenance devices failed to prevent the invasion of sacred norms, and in a matter of weeks forces were released which in the larger society required half a century to partially regularize and to control through continuous institutionalization. Except for infrequent and expensive "taxi" rides, the community had been the chief arena of interaction; now the interaction arena has been increased in size to cover the eastern part of the nation. Young people who formerly courted in prescribed ways now have the automobile, a facility viewed with mixed feelings by almost every parent with children of courting age even in the larger society. Such are the problems which the automobile has brought to the Hoog group.

NOTES

1. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 40.
2. The principal source of information about the Amish is Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community—The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Rural Life Studies [Washington, D.C.: Department of Agriculture, September 1942]). For additional refer-

ences see John A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish: An Annotated Bibliography of Source Materials Pertaining to the Old Order Amish Mennonites* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951).

3. Stanley A. Freed, "Suggested Type Societies in Acculturation Studies," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Feb. 1957), p. 591.

4. Walter M. Kollmorgen, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

5. Talcott Parsons, *Religious Perspective of College Teaching in Sociology and Social Psychology* (New Haven, Conn.: The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1952), p. 12.

6. C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Morristown, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1929), pp. 12 and 13.

7. Charles P. Loomis, "Farm Hand's Diary, Amish Family," (Typewritten Manuscript, Ernst Correll Collection, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana). See John A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bibliography*, p. 85.

8. John A. Hostetler, *Amish Life* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1952), p. 10.

9. Charles S. Rice and John B. Shank, *Meet the Amish, A Pictorial Study of the Amish People* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1947), p. 9.

10. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1949), p. 133.

11. Robert Dubin, "Deviant Behavior and Social Structure: Continuities in Social Theory," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1959), pp. 147ff. The present author agrees with Merton's judgment that an important distinction omitted from Dubin's and Merton's own typologies is that of public and private attitudes. Merton's separation of the "three elements-goals, norms, and means" is also appreciated. "Social Conformity, Deviation, and Opportunity-structures: A Comment on the Contributions of Dubin and Cloward," *ibid.*, p. 183. Actually, from the present author's point of view, the weaknesses of both Dubin's and Merton's typologies are their strength: parsimony of dimensions and concepts. To be able to type a demagogue as accepting cultural goals but rejecting institutional norms and means (value ritualism) is so simple that it is appealing. However, for a problem such as that posed in the present essay and the others in this volume systemic linkage of the systems involved in terms of beliefs, norms, ends, sanctions, and other components must be included. Is the cognitive aspect of demagoguery of no consequence? The author believes it is and for this and other reasons uses more than three elements to describe action. Thus Dubin's conceptualization "institutional norms" is defined as the "prescribed behavior and proscribed behaviors in a particular institutional setting." He refers to the professions as such a setting but this gives no clue to the systemic linkage between the society and the sub-system. Certainly the linkage would be different in the case of the Amish, an organization of "professional" thieves, and the Michigan Medical Society.

12. "Withdrawal, flight, emigration—this was by now their institutionalized reaction to any major threat to the dogmas of their faith, particularly to principles which distinguished them from other Christian persuasions." E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia—The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 35.

13. Walter M. Kollmorgen, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
16. John Umble, "The Amish Mennonites of Union County, Pennsylvania," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. VII (1933), p. 92.
17. Walter M. Kollmorgen, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
18. C. Henry Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
19. John A. Hostetler, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
20. Walter M. Kollmorgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.
21. This case resulted from field research carried on by John A. Hostetler who wrote the original case. Hostetler, a former Amishman who became a Mennonite and is now a sociologist at the University of Alberta is an authority on the "plain people." The adaptation of the original case written by Hostetler was made by the present author who supervised the research supported by funds from the Division of Hospital and Medical Facilities of the United States Public Health Service for a project entitled "Anglo-Latino Relations in Hospitals and Communities and the Carnegie Corporation for a Project dealing with boundary maintenance and border relations. Italics have been added to indicate to the reader the pertinent elements and processes from the PAS Model as they are involved in the action.

ESSAY 6

EDUCATIONAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS: USA, USSR, AND MEXICAN

Educating the new generation is among the most important tasks of all societies. In many societies the educational system is not separate from the family, the clique, and the community. With few exceptions in societies characterized by division of labor, however, "The business of storing the mind with ideas . . . has been assigned to the school. The task of organizing and socializing the self to which these materials and methods belong is left to the home . . . to the playground, the streets, and society in general."¹ Here we are primarily concerned with those formalized systems, particularly the schools, that have been established for educational purposes. Since the schools are society's vehicles by which the prevailing culture is transmitted to the young, it follows that there can be no great and enduring divergence and inconsistency between the elements and processes that articulate the society and those that articulate the educational system. Because the education social system, more than most sub-systems, suggests the greater society in microcosm, it may be drawn in sharper relief if it is presented in terms of its existence in contrasting societies. The elements and processes of the educational systems will be examined here as they are seen in the United States, in the USSR, and in Mexico—three societies and nations which differ from one another considerably.

KNOWING

Belief (knowledge) as an element. Reduced to their simplest terms beliefs basic to the educational system of the three countries can be summed up thus:

United States: Democracy cannot flourish without an informed citizenry; the school is a training ground not only for the dissemination of information; it is also a laboratory in democratic principles.

USSR: The ultimate victory of Communism in the world-wide class struggle can come about only by teaching Communism to the young and training them in the skills and knowledge of economic production.

Mexico: The mark of the educated man has traditionally been the logically trained mind, the spiritually rich heart, the artistic eye, and the expressive hand. Material progress requires technical competence. Mexico's future can be insured only by training both in the cultural tradition and in technical skill.

The basic beliefs have been expressed by each of the nation's great as they have viewed their country's educational system. Thomas Jefferson in a letter to George Washington in 1786 emphasized the political importance of education. He wrote, "It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction."²

Lenin was more specific:

The more cultured was the bourgeois state the more subtly it lied in asserting that the school can remain outside politics and serve society as a whole . . . the school was in fact converted wholly into a weapon of class domination of the bourgeoisie . . . its aim was to provide capitalists with servile grovelers and excellent workers. To claim that the school is outside of life, outside of politics is a lie and a hypocrisy. We believe that Russian education is a mighty weapon not only to finish the overthrow of capitalistic society but to build Communist society.³

Avila Camacho, one of Mexico's great presidents, in describing the anti-illiteracy campaign, said, "These insufficiencies are our internal enemies: political . . . economic . . . technical. . . . All these insufficiencies spring, however, from one very grave source of insufficiency—that of instruction."⁴

Cognitive mapping and validation as process. In the light of these basic beliefs it is not surprising that there are similarities between the educational systems of Russia and the United States. In both countries "the intellectual activity . . . relies more on a theoretical component to which applied mathematics and symbolic logic is germane;⁵ both differ from the system in Mexico where more reliance is placed upon the intuitive, aesthetic com-

ponent and where "music, drawing, and manual arts are enlisted for their expressive, artistic and coordinative values."⁶ Whether the curriculum tends to emphasize the rational scientific as in Russia and the United States or the expressive artistic as in Mexico, the matrix of school attendance, school support, or school control is not devoid of expressive sentiment.

FEELING

*Sentiment as an element; tension management and communication of sentiment as processes.*⁷ In the United States adults hold sentiments about education; they believe that the educative process passes knowledge on to the succeeding generations. They also have a deep and abiding faith, which transcends cognitive belief, that the next generation will be improved and that education itself will ultimately solve problems and dispel evil. The old rancher who spoke his mind at a public meeting typifies this sentiment:

I hear the boys tellin' what this town needs. This town needs this and that, they tell us. I'll tell you what this town needs more'n it needs anything else. It needs better and smarter folks, and the only way I know to get 'em is to educate 'em up to it. We've always figured in this valley that one man was as good as another, and sometimes a damn-sight better. How are these boys goin' to have a chance to be a damn-sight better unless we give 'em the best education we can?⁸

Coupled with this faith in the ameliorative process of "educatin' em up to it" is an emotional naïveté which, like the belief system, is characteristic of the greater society and is transmitted, reproduced, and reenacted in miniature in the educational system. "Everyone will be nice to you if you're nice to them" is, in the eyes of some observers, a prevailing and valid sentiment that has been substituted for principle and self discipline. One may or may not agree with Walter Lippmann's observations that a kind of unsophisticated emotionalism permeates our schools, is sustained by an organized philosophy, and has led to hideous blunders in the assessment of the international situation.⁹ But even the unconvinced are likely to recognize an aspect of American education here:

American education is friendly, relaxed, sentimental, humanitarian, imprecise, and amiable as a spaniel puppy. It assumes that kindness

and gentle curiosity will always be met by a neighborly smile. The pleasant thing about America for the three-quarters of a century following Reconstruction is that within our borders this has largely proved true. . . . [The error of our misinformation about Russia] perhaps the most colossal error in all history on the part of a highly literate nation provided with hecatombs of libraries and printing presses, stemmed from this same relaxed, friendly, sentimental, and humanitarian education—not simply in the schools and universities but in most articulated American thought. The cost of that error has not yet been revealed to us. . . .¹⁰

The Stouffer study reveals that no factor analyzed in nationwide study was so important in producing tolerance toward Communists, atheists, and socialists as education—the more education the greater the tolerance. The people in those regions with lower educational attainment and standards, such as the South and farm and rural areas, were less tolerant than were those in the urban areas of the East and West with higher educational attainments.¹¹

“Democracy” taken to mean an ideal state of equality accompanied by a degree of almost unlimited personal liberty if not license and the antithesis of all authority is certainly not the democracy that is a *form of government* with highly institutionalized democratic *controls* of equality and liberty—the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the courts of law, trial by jury, and due process of law which means notice, hearing, and judgment. If Lippmann and Chalmers are right in assigning to the schools a confusion which causes the replacement of the latter meaning of democracy by the former—and this confusion has been such a popular and prevalent error that the schools could hardly have escaped it—then indeed democracy has been sentimentally interpreted and not without repercussions.

The emotional climate in the Soviet school could scarcely be more different from that which obtains in the United States. “The inculcation of patriotism was the first and foremost task of teachers. This was interpreted as narrow nationalism which demanded ‘fanatical loyalty to the regime and unmitigated antagonism toward the outside world.’”¹² George Counts found “the feeling of Soviet patriotism is saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society.”¹³

Sentiments as they exist in the controlling classes of Mexico

and are promulgated by the Mexican educational systems display themselves in an intense nationalism, a pride in Mexican religiosity and craftsmanship, an intense jealousy to guard technological gains already made, and an impetus toward new advances.

The pious, humanitarian sentiments of the American, which may be unsuited to the comparatively new role of world power-figure, can be conceived to be a necessity in a society in which disparate and varying national strains are being rapidly integrated into a solidary whole. The rigidly controlled, tightly disciplined production schedule of the relatively new USSR may have both needed and experienced the feeling of a common enemy to foster solidary feelings within the country as well as to abet boundary maintenance mechanisms. The Mexican sentiments seem to be harmonious with a situation in which a revolution has shaken the lethargy and traditionalism of ages, in which a part of the nation has been started toward technological advancement and another part has been left comparatively untouched. Under such circumstances, sentiments supportive of both the old and new fulfill a function.

Data for the United States indicate great stress from ambiguous status-role definitions and the lack of complete professionalization among teachers. Some of the stress arises in the internal pattern of student interaction. Thus one investigation indicates that the teacher in high school is subjected to stress because of the conflict between "the requirements of . . . two sets of expectations which operated in the classroom, those presented by the teacher and those which the informal system defined."¹⁴ The results of the study suggested that it was possible for a teacher to "articulate both sets of roles . . .," but that the more the teacher became linked to the internal pattern of informal student groups or to the formal extra-curricular organizations the more he was tempted to permit the students' rank in the community and other personal considerations to be substituted for high scholarly achievement standards. In the Russian educational system the pressures of the present-day system are less from informal student groups than from the formal Party and government; since the late 1920's the teacher has become a task leader par excellence. In Mexico the teacher is protected from student pressures by a greater formaliza-

tion of relations between students and teachers than exists in the United States.

The ambiguities and consequent unresolved tension existing in the status-role of the school administrator in the United States have no counterparts in either Mexico or Russia. Due to the prevailing emphasis on equalitarianism in the United States both teachers and administrators idealize equality and democratic action in decision making. The administrator who is aggressive and effectively utilizes prestige and rank outside the school system to provide the facilities needed to the system often labors under stress in relations with his teachers. School administrators suffer from guilt feelings if the situation does not permit them to be equalitarian and democratic.¹⁵

All three countries utilize various rites-of-passage for tension management. Graduation ceremonies are an example of such rites which are rendered somewhat sacred by Party involvements in the USSR and by religious involvements as in baccalaureate services in the United States. Various initiation ceremonies which in the United States were so extreme at one time may now be somewhat superseded by orientation programs. More study of these various rites as well as rites of intensification would no doubt lead to useful comparisons.

ACHIEVING

End, goal, or objective as element. The specific objectives of the Russian, Mexican, and United States educational systems can be examined most fruitfully against a general statement of educational objectives. Durkheim gives such a general statement:

Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.¹⁶

There is a dual objective—the demands of society and the demands of self-realization. Under the Russian system what is demanded of the child by the political society transcends all other considerations. "Soviet education aims at education for excellence with freedom of choice resting with the State to the end that the

State may be developed to the optimum.”¹⁷ How the state absorbs the life of the child and determines “the special milieu for which he is specifically destined” will be considered in the section dealing with norms.

In contrast, self-fulfillment of each individual child is emphasized beyond any other consideration in the United States educational system.¹⁸ The laws of the USSR essentially protect the rights of the state from infringements and attacks on the part of the citizens; most laws in the USA protect the rights of the individual from infringements and attacks on the part of the state. Individual self-fulfillment can and often does occur in the USSR in the course of state-sponsored education, but it is incidental to the student’s being developed for a status-role important to the state. Good citizenship and democratic principles can be and often are a part of the state-sponsored education of United States youth, but it is incidental to the training considered necessary to give full expression to individual capabilities.

The ends of education in Mexico as elsewhere vary greatly from social class to social class and from system to system. Those of the elementary and secondary schools and universities are probably less pragmatic and more oriented toward education as a value in and of itself than are those in either Russia or the United States. The ends of the agricultural colleges and Indian schools are vocational and practical. In general, however, the official expression of ends and objectives for education in Mexico are as broad and enlightened as any in the world.¹⁹ “*Education is the hope of Mexico.* Mass education as an instrument of progress has become a positive value for at least a sizeable minority of all classes.”²⁰

The ends for the Russians are universal mastery of the Marxist-Leninist Communist political dogma and mastery of knowledge and technology. For the Americans they are a composite of social skills, vocational training, and mastery of knowledge in fields dictated by the personal interests of the individual student. For the Mexican they tend to be mastery of knowledge for the sake of knowledge and a well-developed aesthetic appreciation. The net result in any society of the accomplishment of ends is in the transformation of a child into an incumbent of an adult status-role. Society, in effect, is training the child so that he may, upon becom-

ing an adult, effectively participate in society's division of labor.

Goal attaining and concomitant "latent" activity as process. In all three countries adolescents in school mix book learning, lecture, study, and laboratory training with courting and other activities involving both sexes. The amount of school and university activity which has its prime function in the mingling of the sexes is greatest in the United States.

Teaching methods in the United States have occasioned more and more discussion. One study describes the high school situation thus:

"The teachers' perspective of the classroom was one in which behavior was defined according to an ideally conceived classroom situation in which performance approximated the ability and knowledge of the students. According to this perspective, discussion operated in ping-pong fashion between teacher and pupils and among pupils, limited only by considerations of knowledge and limitations of personality."²¹

The following quotation from Beals illustrates the goal attaining activities, other processes and elements of Mexican education:

In both rural and urban elementary schools, despite the strong influence of John Dewey on Mexican education since the revolution, instruction tends to be authoritarian and to place heavy emphasis upon memory. During study periods students learn long passages, repeating them aloud. . . . Recitation often consists of the class's repeating in unison passages learned word by word. . . . Curriculums [in the *secundaria* which follows the six-year elementary school] . . . too are somewhat classical and traditional, discipline is strict, attendance is watched, and examinations are frequent. . . . University instruction tends to be somewhat formal and specialized. . . . Curriculums tend to be rigid and offer few optional courses. . . . Lectures tend to be formal and authoritarian. Discussion is rare and laboratory, demonstration, or case methods have been used only recently and not in all fields.²²

A summary of education in the USSR states that,

The class lecture is the principal teaching method. Although lesson plans necessarily vary with different subjects . . . emphasis is placed on training pupils to listen attentively, accept what they read and are told, and repeat what they have been assigned to learn in logical and grammatically correct written and oral form. Repetition accounts for an

estimated 20 per cent of class time. . . . The degree of spontaneity found in the American classroom is not present in the USSR.²³

NORMING, STANDARDIZING, AND PATTERNING

Norm as an element. There are marked differences among the three educational systems as to "proper" behavior and attitudes in the student-teacher relation. In Russia, students must memorize 20 rules the content of which suggest the ideal teacher-student relations.

It is the duty of every school child: . . . To obey the instructions of the school director and the teachers without question; . . . To rise when the teacher or director enters or leaves the room. . . . To stand at attention when answering the teacher; to sit down only with the teacher's permission; to raise his hand if he wishes to answer or ask a question. . . . To be respectful to the school director and teachers; when meeting them, to greet them with a polite bow; boys should also raise their hats. . . . To protect school property. . . . To carry his student's record book with him always, to guard it carefully, never handing it over to anyone else, and to present it upon request to the teachers or the school director. . . .²⁴

Nor is the student without a guide to his political behavior:

Only within the framework of . . . "broad perspectives of social significance" . . . group goals—is individual striving approved or rewarded. A child may strive to improve his "personal position" only in relation to the social target. "Character traits unbecoming to a young communist are not only stigmatized by the term *petty bourgeois*," but as personal preoccupations and selfishness.²⁵

There is no such standardization of pupil norms in Mexico or in the United States, although there is ample evidence that Mexican education is heavily disciplinary and formalized. A Mexican student who attends a college in the United States "tends to resent the requirements that make him take courses outside his special field, the compulsory attendance, and the frequent examinations which he associates with his secondary school background. Furthermore he is not prepared for the non-authoritarian presentation of many instructors."²⁶

It is hard to generalize about norms in the United States, because the kind of local control which prevails encourages a highly

varied normative pattern. Despite the variations, the norms of teacher-pupil relations are probably nowhere as rigid in the United States as they are in either the USSR or in Mexico. "Progressive" education and educational policies by other names designed to organize a school for pupil self-growth and self-expression as well as for group decision and activity and democratic living are subjects that are continually discussed and argued about. There is the educator who decrys that

Our classrooms have been arranged in terms of an authoritarian conception of living. Seats and desks were screwed to the floor. The teacher's desk was sometimes on a raised platform so placed as to facilitate command of the class. The taskmaster stood before the class and issued orders. Perhaps he lectured to the students on the virtues of democracy.²⁷

Other educators equally vigorously denounce the kind of educational latitude which equates democracy with casual self-discipline and with a kind of normless "growing." Here, for example, John Dewey whose educational philosophy is still having a sizeable impact on norms in the American schoolroom is taken to task.

... Professor Dewey used the metaphor of a growing organism without reference to standards of good or right, leaving grave uncertainty whether the growth stimulated by education would, for example, be partial, one-sided, bad, or good. . . . [According to his philosophy] The account of man is clear: that he is naturally good, being liable to evil only if affected by bad social arrangements, that he is a child of nature, and that the child in his innocence should provide the central preoccupation of all *Paideia*. [Although the revisions brought about by application of such a philosophy were] executed in the direction of extreme democracy . . . the net result of these social reforms has been good. [For the future, however,] those dated and limited ideas cannot possibly affirm the purpose of learning for the second half of the century. . . . Our liberties are not secured primarily by democracy. They are secured by constitutionalism.²⁸

Most parents probably hope that their children will encounter teachers who are helpful and interested in each student but who inculcate self-discipline as well as self-expression.

Another area which is rich in normative behavior of particular interest to students has to do with the "rules" which operate only

within the student world and by which students are judged by their peers. Few if any non-students fully understand these rules. Among college-students in the United States it is not generally considered "good form" to allow a professor to be friendly or to wield much influence on the student. The norms of the student group are generally important in governing what courses should be selected, how much studying should be done, and the degree to which it is socially acceptable to have one's views altered by subject matter in course work. A studied wall of imperviousness to mental excitement or curiosity is necessary for social success among the student peers. A similar set of norms seems to prevail in Russia. The Russian student who caters overly-much to a professor and allows himself to be caught up in the excitement of the professor's ideas can be attacked politically by his disapproving official peer group, the Komsomol, or Young Communist's League.²⁹ Making an attack and a defense in the name of good party principles, however, is without counterpart on American campuses. In the United States college teachers seldom influence the basic attitudes of their students.³⁰

Evaluation as a process. One kind of evaluation of the educational system is a highly measurable and quantitative one. It amounts simply to how much people are willing to pay for education. This may be measured in a number of ways. "How many dollars per pupil" is one measurement, although this does not reveal the amount spent in relation to the ability to pay. Thus, within the United States, it is possible that some of the states spending a small amount per pupil are spending a relatively larger proportion of their total budget on education than some wealthier states whose per pupil rate shows up advantageously. There is a wide range in the percentage of income in the various states in the United States spent on education. Some rural states such as the Dakotas, New Mexico and Utah allocate relatively the largest proportions and Delaware, Maryland, and Michigan give relatively small proportions of their incomes for education. A relatively large proportion of the Soviet annual income is devoted to education, and in proportion to per capita income Mexico is now spending a larger share for education than is the United States.³¹ There is a persistent belief in America that the worthwhile in education is the immediately practical. Evaluation of what is

indeed practical falters when such an unpromising and theoretical subject as nuclear physics suddenly becomes as practical as a coal mine or an oil gusher. The contrast between the state legislatures which cautiously and many times parsimoniously evaluate research in the great state-supported institutions of higher learning is in contrast with the evaluative procedure in the Soviet Union.

There seems to be so much money for research that budgetary considerations no longer concern Soviet scientists in the execution of their ideas. Those I talked to seemed unable to comprehend our preoccupation with the cost of things. They often had little idea of the price of some of the items of equipment they ordered. From the Russians' belief that in a technological civilization both the standard of living and military security are dependent on scientific research, it follows that the results of research are all but priceless.³²

Both Russians and Americans are preoccupied with an evaluative comparison of their two respective educational systems. Reasons for this competitive kind of evaluation are many; among them are the need to vindicate belief systems which are diametrically opposed and a fear of the physical and mental consequences of success of the adversary. When basic beliefs and sentiments are involved the most refined evaluative procedures must be marshalled to distinguish between basic principles and educational techniques which have nothing to do with principle. One writer, for example, points out that the technique of state control of examinations and state issue of certificates of achievement, a Soviet practice regarded as despotic by some, is actually the system which has been used by the French for years. "You don't let driving schools issue driving licenses," a French school administrator noted. "Why should you let a high school make the final decision about how successful its own teaching has been?"³³ The same evaluator seeks to determine the fine dividing line between the principle of self-determination and individual fulfillment and the seemingly capricious and ill-advised choices made in the name of this principle by immature youngsters.

The position of the present Soviet . . . authorities is that . . . the amount of fundamental general knowledge a student should have before he specializes cannot be left to the whims of immature youngsters. Although this stand may be debatable, there may also be some discuss-

sion about how an extremely elective system in which one is allowed to study optics without geometry, electricity without algebra, astronomy without trigonometry, and journalism without spelling can be either effective or necessary for the maintenance of a democratic form of government.³⁴

Another thoughtful American speculates that it is entirely possible that the United States school system is working hardest on problems that are already solved.

Our schools are, in a sense, the victims of their own success. If they are not precisely buried beneath the ruins of their own triumph, they are conditioned and committed by their achievements. Most of what we may call the non-academic functions of the schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been performed: to give unity to a heterogeneous population; to create a sense of belonging; to inculcate democracy and equality. These are never-ending problems and I do not suggest that they are wholly solved . . . but can it not be said that the schools have already formulated solutions to these problems? Their application rests with society.³⁵

Whether one agrees with MacAndrew or with Commager is unimportant for the present purpose. Both men illustrate that, to be effective, evaluation can neither be time bound as Commager has shown, nor space bound:

. . . on January 16, 1958, *Pravda* announced proudly in its front-page editorial that Marion B. Folsom, the U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, "had to admit that the Soviet schools had outstripped those of the United States in scientific education." . . . If we restrict ourselves to scientific education, Secretary Folsom's alleged evaluation is probably accurate. The Soviet schools, although they are not streamlined education plants mass-producing future scientists and technicians, do have a better science curriculum than that of U.S. public schools. But France, Germany, Italy, and Denmark have even better ones. So if a model is needed, why choose the Soviets? Because of the Sputniks? Why not choose Denmark because of Niels Bohr?³⁶

DIVIDING THE FUNCTIONS

Status-roles incorporating both element and process. The core status-roles for all educational systems are those of pupil and teacher. The status-role of school administrator becomes increasingly important as educational systems become more complex. It

is the teacher's job to transmit knowledge to the pupil; it is the pupil's job to learn it. The determination of *what* knowledge will be transmitted (curriculum) and *how* it will be transmitted (method) may be the responsibility of the teacher, the school administration, or both. In a highly centralized system of education like that of the Soviet the precise content of the curriculum is controlled by top level administrative decision. The issues of *The History of the USSR* dated 1945, 1946, 1951 and 1955, for example, contain radically different accounts of the Allied landings at Normandy on June 6, 1944. The 1945 edition praises the operation, claiming that it had no equal "in breadth of design, grandiosity of scale, and mastery of execution." The 1955 text does not mention the invasion but claims that England and the United States played a game of delay and did not open the second front against Germany until after it was certain Russia would win the war . . . and then in self defense.³⁷ The Soviet teachers, then, must transmit knowledge, must perfect practical skill, and must indoctrinate politically. They also "are expected to be active participants in community projects and to help solve various problems. . . . In villages the teacher usually is a link between the Party-State and the local inhabitants."³⁸

In contrast, the United States teacher must impart information or knowledge, must perfect skill in some limited way (in vocational courses, for example, although he is not generally training the student for a particular job in a specific factory as is frequently true in Russia) and must support the nation and its institutions. A 1954 survey revealed that an overwhelming number of citizens (91 per cent) believed that a high school teacher found to be a communist should be fired. Only a slightly smaller percentage thought that such a person in a college should be fired.³⁹ The public school teacher in the United States, unlike his Soviet counterpart, "is expected to be in the community, but not a full member of it. The activities in which the teacher may openly and approvedly engage are frequently limited to school functions, church affairs, and the work of certain other acceptable organizations. He is not expected to function in political life or to associate freely with the other citizens in such social affairs as dancing, visiting, or attending clubs."⁴⁰

The Mexican teacher, perhaps in the European tradition, pur-

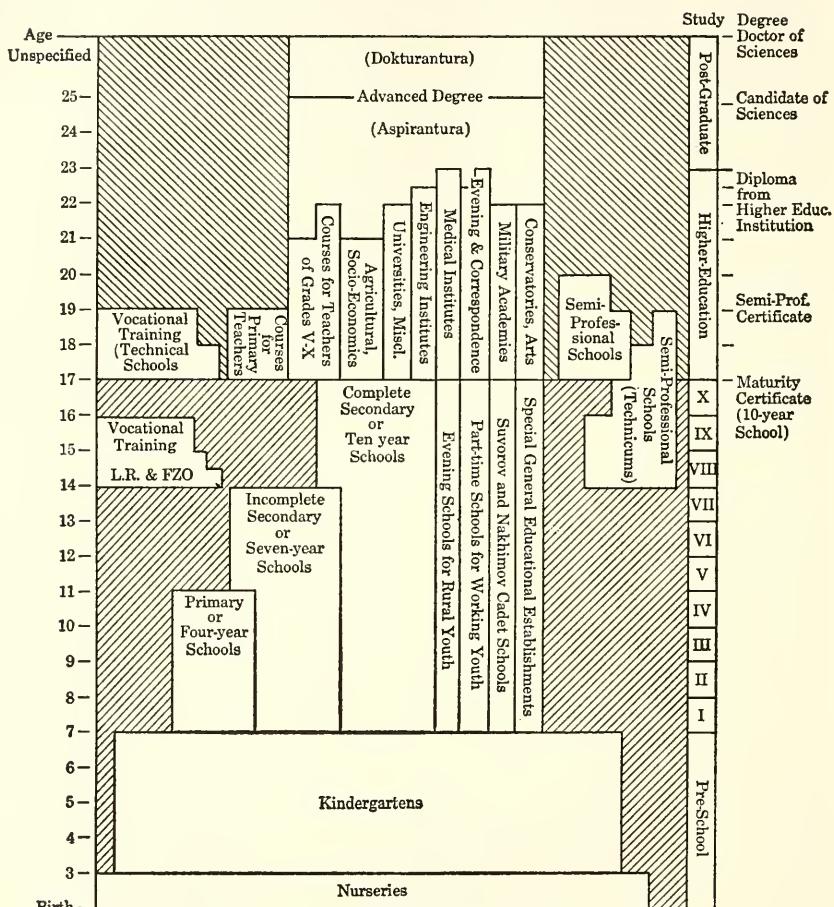
sues normal adult activities and community participation without particular differentiation from other jobholders. He is supposed to and does support teacher's unions which are strong and which are important instruments for filling and securing positions. Unionization of students is also characteristic of student life in Mexico. The United States teacher model is a middle-class female. Only about one-fifth of all United States public school teachers are male. The percentage is larger both in Mexico and Russia. Parsons has suggested that the prevalence of the female teacher in the United States is functional in furnishing a mother surrogate for a society in which the "dependence on the mother is particularly intense . . ." ⁴¹

The level of literacy of any nation is determined by the answer to two queries: What proportion of people attend school and how long do they stay there. Comments accompanying Figures 2 and 3 in some small way answer these questions for the educational systems in the United States and Mexico. Although the inroads on illiteracy in the USSR are remarkable and the achievements, both qualitative and quantitative, connected with the student status-role are astonishingly high, none outside of the USSR actually knows the proportion of the population who, because of geographic isolation or for other reasons, never become students.

High as the Soviet success rate may be, the picture of a country in which almost everyone ends up with a solid educational grounding is somewhat exaggerated. We know now that out of every thousand children entering the Soviet first grade, 875 will at some point fall by the wayside. But the actual proportion of educational have-nots is even greater than this figure indicates. . . . [In view of evidence that many rural parts of Russia have not yet been provided with schools in order to understand the Soviet success figure,] we must first know how many Soviet children out of a thousand actually enter the first grade. And that figure we certainly do not have.⁴²

A significant and differentiating aspect of the status-roles of teacher and student in the USSR is the relative preoccupation with instruction in party dogma. Much more time is given to this activity than in any remotely similar activity in the United States or Mexico. The zenith of party training is provided in the Academy of the Social Sciences which is open only to those who have

FIGURE 1
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET UNION *



Source: *Education in the USSR* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957).

Thirty-one-and-a-half-million students are enrolled in schools through the seventh year of instruction; another five million are in the "technicums" where semi-professionals are trained or in the alternate educational route for this age group, the Ten-Year Schools; the highest 8-12 per cent of the latter's graduates are accepted for college training. Factory schools and technicums are geared to productive life; pertinent factories often prescribe the training which is highly specialized. Two or three times more engineers, technicians, and other specialists are graduated annually in the Soviet Union than in the United States. The gross number of students has been accelerated at such a rate that in a single generation illiteracy has been reduced from 60-65 per cent to 5-10 per cent.

* Since the above was drawn and the present essay written, the school system has undergone a general reorganization effective in the academic year 1959-1960

been members of the party for five years. Thus, the student status-role is subtly combined with the means by which a high-ranking party membership is achieved, this latter being one of the most prestigious status-roles in the nation. In contrast:

If students in American schools at any level are asked what outcome they expect from their own attendance, any response . . . related to . . . making democracy feasible would be rare indeed. . . . Yet, even though it is seldom verbalized, in the minds of many, particularly the intellectuals, there is an abstract association between the belief in mass education and the achievement of a democratic society.⁴³

Teacher status-roles are in most marked contrast at the highest academic level at the colleges and universities. Any observer familiar with university life in the United States or in Mexico would know instantly that the highly specialized division of labor described here did not take place in those nations:

. . . fetching and carrying things and doing routine secretarial jobs, or generally acting as a technician or a mechanic . . . is done . . . by fleets of young girl assistants. The discipline of these assistants is impressive. In some laboratory demonstrations made for me by an academician, two women assistants would stand near him, passing him the various pieces of equipment he called for much as a nurse hands a surgeon his instruments at an operation. I was told that from two to four technical aids were available to each scientist. Every professor has at least one secretary. (Some I visited had four.) This large number of trained technical assistants for scientific research is in sharp contrast to the shortage of technicians in . . . industry. Many of the technicians I talked to had an excellent general education. . . . They appeared to have a general scientific training roughly of the level attained in the United States by people who major in chemistry for their B.S. degree.⁴⁴

and extending to 1965. Under the new regulations school attendance of all children from seven through sixteen is required. Most of this age group begins "secondary education [in] . . . a *compulsory eight-year school*, to replace the present seven-year school." The next stage includes various patterns designed to provide "a union of instruction with production work" and consummates the secondary education which now requires eleven years. These and other changes have been made to rectify what the Central Committee calls "serious shortcomings of [the] . . . schools [resulting] in separation of instruction from life and poor preparation of graduates for practical activity." George S. Counts, *Krushchev and the Central Committee Speak on Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), pp. 29ff.

FIGURE 2

ORGANIZATION OF INSTRUCTION IN MEXICO

| Student's Age | Year of Schooling | | HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOL | NORMAL SCHOOL FOR TECHNICAL AND ARTS EDUCATION | PHYSICAL EDUCATION | TRADE SCHOOLS | SCHOOLS OF AG- RICULTURE, ARTS AND CRAFTS, MINING, NURS- ING, SOCIAL SERVICE, ETC. |
|------------------|---|----|----------------------------|---|-----------------------|------------------|---|
| | 17 | 16 | | | | | |
| 23 | POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND OTHER HIGHER SCHOOLS FOR VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL AND ARTS EDUCATION | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | |
| 21 | UNIVERSITIES | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | | |
| | SECONDARY SCHOOL—SECOND CYCLE | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | |
| 16 | Preparatory and Vocational Schools | | | | | | |
| 15 | SECONDARY SCHOOL—FIRST CYCLE | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | |
| 13 | General, University Initiation, Prevocational | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | |
| 9 | ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS | | | | | | |
| 8 | Urban, Semi-Urban, Frontier, Boarding, Rural, Agriculture, | | | | | | |
| 7 | Article 123, Cultural Missions. | | | | | | |
| 6 | KINDERGARTENS (Voluntary) | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | |
| 3 | NURSERY SCHOOLS | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | |
| 1 | | | | | | | |

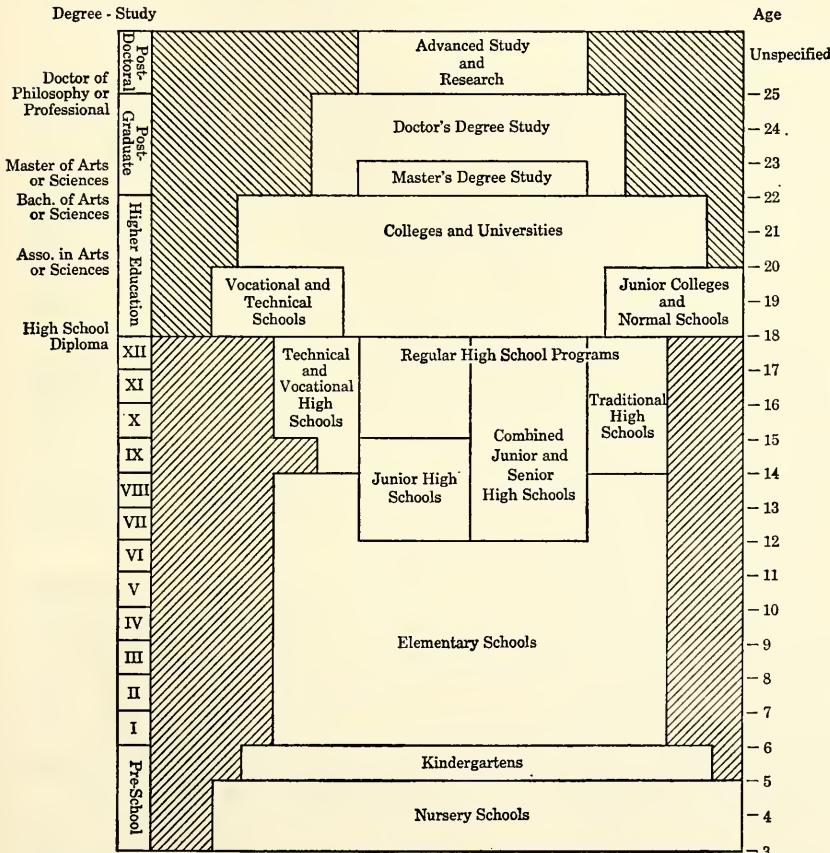
Source: George F. Kneller, *The Education of the Mexican Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 84.
Although Mexico's revolution also increased greatly the number of student status-role incumbents, about half of the people are still illiterate. Less than half of the children 6-14 years of age are in school. Fifteen per cent of the secondary-school age youth attend school. The asterisk, placed by the present author in the chart above, calls attention to the elementary education involving students of every age level including the adults, in the vocational, agricultural, and "improvement movement" type of educational enterprise conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs. The uneven rate of assumption of the status-role of student is characteristic of a nation with an uneven rate of progress from the Gemeinschaft- to Gesellschaft-like existence.

This scene in a Soviet university demonstrates how the educational system, as it has developed in that nation, has created a whole new range of status-roles "a new class of science aides."⁴⁵ Bockris sheds one more bit of information on the status-role of professor as it is enacted in the USSR.

. . . Professors divide their time between positions in research insti-

FIGURE 3

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES



Source: *Education in the U.S.S.R.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957).

Less than a third of 16 and 17 year old youths are not attending school. Nonetheless, about half of the ablest high school graduates do not go to school beyond high school. About 20 per cent attend college or university full time for at least a year. Women constitute about 37 per cent of the college student body.

tutes and those they hold in the universities, the latter requiring only a relatively small amount of the time of the more senior men. . . . In this respect particularly, the Russian professor's opposite number in the United States feels at a disadvantage because he can sometimes get down to actual research work only after . . . trying to persuade various bodies to contribute money so that he may carry out research at all.⁴⁶

With these differences in the structuring of status-roles, it is not surprising that there are great differences in the power structure as it exists in the three nations under examination.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element. There are very different aspects of power involved in educational situations. Who is eligible to attend the school? Does the student pursue the course he wishes? Does he get a passing grade or a failing one? What textbooks are adopted for use? What subjects are in the curriculum? Shall a new high school be built? How much financial support comes to the school system and from what sources? The answers to these and many other questions indicate that although the teacher is indeed a power figure from the point of view of the pupil, the teacher has little or no claim to much of the power involved in the total situation. Besides having a good deal of direct power over the student in the classroom (even in a permissive setting), the teacher's behavior often serves as an adult model for the growing child, as is attested by many biographies.

One might expect that the more centralized the educational system, the more the power outside the teacher's scope would be concentrated in a few individuals. Both the Soviet Union and Mexico have highly centralized educational systems, and yet the organization in each country is very different. The Soviet Union does not have a national ministry to control education although the separate Republics each have a Ministry of Education.

In the USSR the Communist Party, consisting of about three per cent of the total population, is the minority group which directly and indirectly controls education through a mechanism which centralizes power at the top. . . . The USSR Party-State aims to determine, through its national planning mechanism, the skills which are needed and the proportion of the student population to be trained in each skill. The

more brilliant student in the USSR has some individual freedom of choice, but the State retains control over curriculum content and methods of instruction and distribution of students among academic fields, adjusting all to suit prevailing political doctrine and current manpower requirements of the Soviet economy.⁴⁷

There is a great deal of variation in the degree to which the pupil's voluntary choice of occupation is respected. In vocational training, the least respect is paid to individual choice. A decree of 1940 established the current method of "planned, compulsory labor recruitment." The system, which orders the conscription of from 800,000 to 1,000,000 boys annually for industrial training, seeks to correct the impression of those "who mistakenly understood the right to work to mean the right to choose their own place of employment in disregard of the interests and needs of the State."⁴⁸ From this curtailment of occupational and educational choice there is a range which extends from rather limited choice up to and including a rather wide range of choice for the gifted pupil.

The State attempts to decide through its planning mechanism what skills are needed and in what proportion they are needed for the most efficient development of the State. For example, the State decides that a certain number of ballet stars are needed to entertain the people. In turn, aspiring children throughout the USSR compete . . . only those judged best . . . survive the years of study . . . to become stars for the State.⁴⁹

The same source describes the ways the school facilities are curtailed or expanded as special needs of certain industries change. An illustration is given in a situation in which petroleum production was to expand rapidly.

A significant increase in the number of petroleum specialists was necessary to carry out this program. The number of post-graduate students specializing in subjects pertinent to the field was doubled over that in the previous five year plan. Through an increase in the enrollment quota in appropriate school faculties and in the value of individual stipends and the overall amount offered for such study in the Nation's higher educational institutions and semi-professional schools, undergraduates were encouraged to major in some specialty of use to the petroleum industry.⁵⁰

In a state which demands complete synchronization of the educational system with the production system which is also controlled by the state, it is safe to say that no important locus of power is going to be any place but with the centralized control.

Mexico, which also has a centralized educational system, concentrates power in the Ministry of Education. By controlling the state governments, the federal government exercises effective control over the educational system of the country. Although control is certainly centralized, by contrast with the Soviet system the course pursued by the Mexicans seems permissive.

The power over the educational system in Mexico, does not extend into the rearrangement of individuals' private lives for the well-being of the state. Democratic considerations and humanistic controls mark the language of the Constitutional provisions as amended in 1945. Nonetheless it is explicitly stated that "In order to unify and coordinate education all over the Republic, the Congress of the Union shall issue the necessary laws in order to distribute the social function of education between the Federation, the States and Municipalities. . . ." ⁵¹ In many Latin American countries the unification and coordination of education takes the form of clock-like control over curriculum, so that, for example, at six minutes after 10:00 on a certain day of a certain month all fourth graders in the land would be studying the same arithmetic lesson on the same page of the same textbook. The Mexican student is allowed relative freedom in choosing his school and his course of study.

The United States educational system is similar to the Mexican system in philosophy but entirely unlike either the Soviet or the Mexican systems in organization, structure, and locus of power. At the national level there is the United States Office of Education which has no power except as the professional leadership emanating from that office can motivate professional educators to take a stand, which in turn must be accepted and acted upon by the local school district. The educational offices at the state level have somewhat more power, although in most cases they too perform an advisory and leadership function rather than a control function.

While we speak of our educational system as a state one, and while we look to the state for leadership, belief in vigorous local units with

large responsibility for education is deeply embedded in the American society. Seldom does one encounter an American who favors what he calls a highly centralized system of education.⁵²

Americans avoid centralization because it may jeopardize "local control," but often do not realize that local control is frequently in the hands of a few local power figures. In the United States the insulating barriers which the state has set up to protect the agencies of popular education from the impact of social forces are relatively ineffective. . . . In our great cities scarcely a day passes that fails to see some interest in the community seeking in one way or another to influence the program of the schools.⁵³ Moreover, "the politics with which the schools are beset at the present time are injected into the schools just as frequently by school boards as by representatives of the legislative or executive branches of political government.⁵⁴ The truth of these observations has been demonstrated over and over again as citizens have been blocked from passing increased tax levies, from changing the location of a school, or making other basic changes. Form and Miller report, for example, a case in which the PTA, Board of Education, organized labor, and teacher groups favored an increased levy but the newspapers and organized tax-payer groups defeated it.⁵⁵ Various pressures force the public school in many of its activities to conform to the wishes of those in power. This is not to say that the linkage of the educational system to the related governmental systems is weaker than are most sub-governmental organizations. It means only that the realities of democratic government obtain for the educational system as they do for other sub-systems. To an American the chances for an educational system that is responsive to the will of the people seem greatest in a society in which authority is checked and balanced by counter authority and in which the influence of one power group can be challenged by the influence of other power groups.

Decision making and its initiation into action as process. The holders of power express their power through decision making. Power is articulated or executed by initiating decisions into action. This means that in a power-concentrated system like the Soviet Union basic policy decisions are made by the party chief and his very few assistants and that these decisions are implemented by

the ministeries of education of the various republics. Decisions concerning the manner in which Party line is handled are made by the community centered Komsomol (Young Communist League) or the Young Pioneers (the organization for children between nine to fourteen). When Rostow described this decision making process, he said, "Information flowed upward and decrees downward."⁵⁶ Educational policy representing top-level decision making can be illustrated by the important stages through which the educational system of the USSR has passed in a relatively short time.

1. Immediately after the revolution the educational system was stripped of all marks of classical, rigidly disciplined education which had prevailed in pre-Revolutionary days. The *gimnazia* was replaced by practical working experience; rigid curricula gave way to individual choice; stern discipline was vetoed in favor of the natural unfolding of the individual in his environment. Too important to leave to "natural development" was the education along political lines; this was entrusted within the framework of Party policy, to the Komsomols and the Young Pioneers, whose decisions concerning the individual student many times challenged the decision making powers of the teacher in charge.

During the 1920's and into the early 1930's, academic teaching was reduced to a mere trickle and the Komsomols behaved like schoolroom vigilantes. . . . Teachers often ended by surrendering all their privileges, including the right to grade according to standards other than those of the Komsomols. The diplomas obtained in that epoch are still looked upon with suspicion.⁵⁷

2. In a reaction to permissiveness, "bourgeois" subjects were added to the curriculum as the "life as a school" approach was seen to turn out graduates with insufficient breadth of knowledge for top-notch production and with a too narrow margin of literacy to propel Communism forward. More decrees from the top level Party chiefs labelled the old devotion to practical experience by such slurring terms as "deviationism" and "Naked technicism." A strict, conservative training designed for the inculcation of self-discipline as well as complete command of the subjects in the curriculum was inaugurated. Ideal graduates would be those

"who, like ideal bureaucrats, execute with energy and competence whatever tasks are set for them from above."⁵⁸

3. Other examples of the highest level policy making are reflected in decisions such as the decree putting into operation a labor force draft which compelled those drafted to vocational training in the less desired occupations. The decision from on high to change from coeducational classes to the old system of sex-segregated classes, and a little later to revert to coeducation is another such example.

As policy making decisions (enunciated by the most powerful) are initiated into action, a lower level of implementary decisions (enunciated by those of lesser power) can be observed. The latter are exemplified in the content of guides to teachers distributed by the Ministries of Education of the various Republics. Of one such implementation MacAndrew writes:

For each subject, a booklet of about fifty pages details how much ground has to be covered in what time and what should be taught before or after what . . . The reason for all these minute directions seems not to be interference with the freedom of the teacher but, as is explicitly stated, to co-ordinate the acquisition of knowledge . . . In the math teacher's guide, for instance, he is constantly reminded that by such and such a date he must have explained such and such a particular point of geometry to his pupils, who will otherwise be quite unable to grasp certain aspects of optics upon which his physics colleague is about to embark.⁵⁹

Decision making at the point of actual student instruction varies with the subject which is being taught. The context of the actual mathematics, chemistry, or physics lesson (at least on the fairly elementary level) contains many more of the teacher-made decisions than does the elementary presentation of literature, history, and geography for example. The greater the amenability of a subject to political interpretation the higher the level at which decisions are made concerning what is taught, in what context it is presented, and the exact manner of presentation.

Decision making as it goes into operation in the United States is as difficult to pin-point as is the locus of power. Commercial and industrial groups within the community might be expected to marshal their forces about decisions concerning a large school

building program, for example. Patriotic organizations, on the other hand, might be much more concerned about curriculum content or teacher slant which in their opinion gave too much favorable attention to untraditional or foreign forms of governments. Liberal forces have been known to rally around an issue which in their opinion represents freedom of thought and inquiry; parents' organizations frequently throw their weight behind decisions that affect the teacher-child relationship. The skillful administrator will somehow juggle and compromise the desires of all the would-be decision makers. Through the school board, which is composed of the elected or appointed representatives of the people, the administrator informs and is informed of the community climate of opinion. It is easy to understand, once the diffuse decision making process is known, why it has been claimed that although, "No one can rightfully say that we have not a very great system for extending popular education in the United States . . . surely it is a very unsystematic system."⁶⁰ Although the "unsystematic system" clearly lacks the ability quickly to respond to a new situation which a system like that in the USSR possesses, and though it does not have the incisive, standardized channel of decision making, decision implementing order which a centralized system like Mexico possesses it certainly is in the end more responsive to the will of the people whose children are being educated than any system of similar magnitude in the world.

RANKING

*Rank as an element, evaluation as a process in ranking, and allocation of status-roles.*⁶¹ Depending on one's point of view and what it is that he is trying to discover, one could choose from among the dozens of ways in which rank appears in connection with educational systems. How the student is ranked, for example, and the advantages and disadvantages of testing and marking systems is an important pedagogical subject. The methods of ranking teachers with other teachers as bases for good personnel practice and for pay increases is another important consideration. How the students of a particular kind of school rank with students of another kind of school would be useful information under some circumstances as would the rank the teacher holds among other

adults of different occupations. Here the discussion of rank will be confined to: (1) the rank of the teacher by the larger society; (2) the function of rank in the adjustment of the foreign student; (3) the relation between an individual's education and the rank accorded him by the larger society.

The rank of the teacher by the larger society. In the United States a rather definite ranking system of those engaged in education carries across the various educational levels and units. The range of rank for those engaged in teaching extends from the meager standing accorded a very low paid Negro teacher in the South to the high rank accorded the full professor of one of the prestigeful universities. In general it may be stated that, "School teachers, especially those in grammar and high schools, are the economic proletarians of the professions . . . Some 31 per cent of all professional people are school teachers of one sort or another."⁶² Of 90 occupations selected from a national cross section study, there were thirty-five occupations having higher rank. However, only six status-roles included in the study ranked higher than college professor. They were U.S. Supreme Court Justice, physician, state governer, cabinet member, diplomat, and mayor of a large city, in that order.⁶³

Although the teacher in Russia is claimed to have a higher rank now than he did during the beginning of the Soviet regime when teachers were regarded as "bourgeoisie," there is no doubt that in the occupational hierarchy of present-day USSR the teacher is not among the highest. "In 1954 Moscow University told its applicants that those who studied hard would become good research scientists and those who were just average would become school teachers upon graduation."⁶⁴ In seeming contradiction of this claim of middle-range rank, Counts notes that in this so-called classless society the highest ranking people are the members of a "new privileged class of bureaucrats, teachers, managers, engineers, physicians, scientists, writers, and artists—the new Soviet intelligentsia."⁶⁵ Actually, the rank accorded the teacher varies, as it does in the United States, by the subject taught and the kind of educational institution with which the teacher is connected. The Soviet State itself sets up a ranking system by means of a graduated scale which categorizes teachers.

Categories depend upon: (1) length of teaching service, (2) education, (3) grade level and subject taught, and (4) particular place in which they are teaching. Reportedly a teacher who has graduated from a 4-year pedagogical higher educational institution and teaches one of the basic subjects in grade VI earns more than a teacher of art or music who graduated from a 5-year higher educational institute of the arts or from a conservatory. A teacher in the city school earns more than one in a country school, while a teacher in a country school receives housing including fuel and light, and if he has dependents, he is supposed to receive an allotment of land and grazing rights for such livestock as he is allowed to own.⁶⁶

On the highest level of education where advanced university teaching and fundamental research merge:

There is a pyramidal system in research direction. Only very experienced people direct research, and there appeared to be no one under thirty in charge of the research teams. Most of the directors I saw were in their fifties and sixties and had under them enormous teams of as many as a hundred men, whom they would direct with the help of some half a dozen supervisors of high prestige and experience. The relation of director to supervisor appeared to be somewhat similar to that of general and colonel in an army. There is not the slightest doubt about who is master of the research group in the presence of an academician. The orders crackle out and everyone moves fast to obey.⁶⁷

In general, the bases of ranking in both the United States and the USSR contrast with those of Mexico where there is a "fundamental distinction between those who work with their hands and those who do not."⁶⁸ According to Beals Mexican teachers in rural areas rank with storekeepers, bureaucrats, technicians and managers, lower church and army officials. All of these status-roles rank below the few large landowners who remain, important businessmen, political leaders, and the hereditary aristocracy which is vanishing. In cities teachers rank just above skilled workers and slightly below lower church and army officials, small businessmen, and middle bureaucrats. The high ranks are composed of those with wealth and/or family, the heads of the church and army, as well as high government officials, industrialists, business men, top managerial personnel and professionals. Because of the relatively high prestige of intellectual and humanistic pur-

suits in Mexico, however, college teachers and teachers who are true intellectuals, especially if writers, rank much higher than is indicated by the rank generally imputed to teachers.

The function of rank in the adjustment of the foreign student. The major countries of the world, including the United States and the USSR, are increasingly aware that besides the academic training, the foreign student and all whom he influences upon his return to his own country picks up a combination of beliefs and sentiments about the host country. The rank of the host country throughout the nations of the world and its ability to attract support for its political and economic ideologies is built up of many factors, one of some importance being the impression it makes on foreign students studying at its universities. The USSR seeks to improve its rank among the nations of the world by offering inducements including free education with pay to foreign students who study in the major Soviet universities. The United States is seeking to discover, by a battery of studies, what impression the foreign student carries back to his homeland.⁶⁹ Among the most constant findings are those involving rank. When a foreign student compares his idea of the social rank of his own country with the social rank accorded it by most Americans and finds Americans "under-ranking" it, the student's adjustment to the United States is likely to be poor and the attitudes toward the United States likely to be unfavorable. Foreign students in smaller colleges and communities have more frequent and more intimate relations with Americans than do foreign students in larger universities. Foreign students with highest rank in classes completed had the highest interaction rate with American students. Of course, there are many other factors making for good or poor adjustment such as the cultural predisposition of the foreign student and the territorial aspects of American associations—particularly living accommodations and the opportunities thus afforded for interaction.

The relation between an individual's education and the rank accorded him by the larger society. Education bears a close relationship to the rank ordering of the individuals within a social system. The potential rank that his education is able to bestow upon an individual is probably the most important aspect of rank in relation to the educational system, at least in the United States,

where by all odds the most important ranking hierarchy is that of occupation. Increasingly, a job applicant must have certain standards of education even to compete for a job. West describes white collar jobs:

. . . it is not a matter of college education *helping* a young man to compete for a good job, but rather a matter of his having to have this education in order to be in the running at all. A big corporation executive has explained how this principle works in a practical way:

"It is not that we don't expect ability from anyone who hasn't been to college; college education is no magic to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear and I know there are a lot of bright and capable boys who never make it. Still, we always pick our junior management from the colleges just on the statistical probabilities; we have a little better chance of getting a good man out of a bunch of college kids. I know it's unfair to a lot of good men who never get considered, but it's worked out to be good economics for us. Too, deciding in advance to pick a college boy gives you a good way to eliminate a lot of candidates right off the bat." . . . a good part of college education so far has gone for providing indispensable skills. Still, there is a widespread feeling, not without justification, that college education has become simply a badge of eligibility for the Twentieth Century white collar world.⁷⁰

What is true for the white collar jobs is also valid for thousands of jobs a cut below the white collar level; in the first instance a college education is required before one can compete for the job; in the second case a high school diploma is the *sine qua non*. No matter what the level, there is ample proof that income and prestige (both good indicators of rank) increase with level of education.⁷¹ Although there is evidence of the existence of "privileged groups who enjoy special opportunities for advancement" in the USSR, by and large education and training are, if possible, even more closely related to job and income than in the United States.⁷²

SANCTIONING

*Sanctions as an element and application of sanctions as process.*⁷³ The Soviet Union has become a past master at the application of sanctions in order to motivate achievement in the attainment of knowledge, skill, and prescribed attitudes. "In the realm of higher education particularly, the Soviet state is fully committed

to the use of both the carrot and the stick.”⁷⁴ The positive sanctions for the students are free tuition and stipends to the talented students; the possibility of Communist Party membership, after graduation, and jobs with prestige and salary increases. Probably three quarters of the students in institutions of higher learning are receiving maintenance stipends and many are given preferential treatment in the military draft.⁷⁵ But there are equally important negative sanctions. Mediocre academic achievement may mean assignment to an unpleasant job in a remote district; behavior disapproved by the Young Communist League may, among other things, lead to being barred from extracurricular activities; “those ‘not sufficiently enthusiastic’ may be dropped out of the university (thus suffering a precipitous drop in salary).”⁷⁶ Teachers and professors too are rewarded and punished according to the dictates of the state. Monetary rewards are made in somewhat the same proportion as rank is bestowed.

The salary scale of the professors is probably the key to the very advanced state of academic life in Russia. The income of a university science professor varies between \$30,000 and \$60,000 per year according to his status. It may reach \$100,000 in some instances . . . With his servants, assistants, car, chauffeur, and large income, he can devote himself completely to fundamental work without being distracted by efforts to provide for his family by taking up extra duties outside his official appointments.⁷⁷

The potential cost of such plush living in the “classless” society is indicated by the following:

On the other hand, the penalty for making a mistake, particularly one of reasoning, is severe. The position of many scientists (but not of academicians) is reconsidered every five years, and they may be promoted or demoted at the end of this time depending upon their achievements. One proved mistake may have a marked effect upon a man’s position and income.⁷⁸

Another sanction, peculiarly Soviet and incomprehensible to the Western democracies, is the public confession. Periodically, every Party member’s political standing is reviewed. The public confession, the purge, the concentration camps are examples of the negative sanctions applied to those whose political loyalty does not pass the test.

In the United States the sanctions applied to students include eligibility, based on grades, for participation in extracurricular activities and late hour privileges; being campused and expelled; as well as letter awards, and scholarships and fellowships. The monetary rewards for professors are not so great in the United States as they are in Russia.

Between 1940 and 1954, the real income of lawyers, physicians, and industrial workers rose from 10 to 80 per cent, while that of faculty members dropped five per cent. The people of the United States have a virtually unlimited faith in higher education. They know what it means for their own children, and what it means to the future of America. But they do not yet understand that this precious national resource is built squarely on the vitality of the teaching profession.⁷⁹

The U.S. professor may be comforted by the knowledge that the penalty for making a mistake of reasoning is not so ignominious as if he were a Soviet teacher. Most Mexican professors are even worse off by way of rewards. University professors in Mexico generally find their employment at the college or university so uncertain and their renumeration so low that they must also have other jobs, appearing at the university only at the time scheduled for their lectures.

FACILITATING

*Facilities as an element and utilization of facilities as process.*⁸⁰ Since school age youth generally comprises roughly 20 per cent of the total population, the facilities needed for the mere physical housing of that number of people is tremendous. The United States, the USSR, and Mexico each face the never-ending challenge of providing enough schools in which to educate their young.

It is said that nearly 300,000 new classrooms will be needed during the next five years; and a survey by the *New York Times* . . . indicated the need for ten billion dollars to meet the pressing need for school buildings.⁸¹ (United States)

We are always told about schools built in the rural areas, but so far we have not seen much in the way of results. . . . In our district we have failed to fulfill the plans for registration of children of school age or the plans for graduation from the seventh grade . . . while in . . . several

other districts, there is no organized registration of children for school to speak of.⁸² (USSR)

... rural schools frequently offer only two to four years. Rural students who complete six years of elementary school and who wish to continue are either sent to schools in the city or, more commonly, attend vocational schools in rural areas . . . In general the facilities as well as the curriculums offered in the rural schools do not prepare students for university-level work.⁸³ (Mexico)

The school building, of course, is but one facility. Such rudimentary equipment as paper and pencils are prized facilities in some of the hinterlands, and everywhere there is the problem of maintaining a nice balance between supply and need of such equipment as textbooks, visual aids, scientific apparatus, shop equipment, and typewriters. It is claimed, for example, that the lecture method dominates the teaching procedure in Mexico in part because of the lack of textbooks. A USSR newspaper, in an irate article entitled "When Shall We Finally Receive Our Textbooks?", indicates there is a similar problem in that country.

... many math, physics, and chemistry manuals are as much as twenty years out of date, while the 'humanities' textbooks (which in the Soviet Union include those on biology) are constantly being snatched away from the schoolchildren to be rewritten.⁸⁴

In the United States the desired curriculum is sometimes compromised by the lack of shop and laboratory equipment.

The high schools in the small rural districts cannot provide either the equipment or the teachers for effective vocational training programs . . . Small classes are among the most serious handicaps faced by small school districts that attempt to provide educational opportunities of this kind . . . The cost of providing equipment and teachers for such small numbers of pupils is likely to eliminate vocational subjects from the high school curriculum which then is confined to general academic courses that require little or no laboratory or shop equipment.⁸⁵

Nor have the institutions of higher education in any of the countries been able to supply adequate space or equipment.

Adequate financial support is not a matter to be viewed with alarm or with discouragement. The fact seems to be that we are today devoting a smaller fraction of our national income to the support of

public and private higher education than was true in 1929 . . . one . . . problem is how to do a quality job with more prospective students on campuses already far too congested and in individual classes which in some state universities number hundreds, if not over a thousand, in size.⁸⁶ (United States)

. . . laboratory, demonstration, or case methods have been used only recently and not in all fields . . . Enrique Jimenez was working essentially on post-doctoral training in a United States university. Much of his work was in laboratories and he expressed great admiration for the "organization" of the university: when experimental materials were needed in the laboratory he was able to get them quickly and easily.⁸⁷ (By 1956 his research was widely known for its importance and originality.) (Mexico compared with United States.)

Russian laboratories make use of space and equipment very differently from their British and American counterparts. They were much more crowded, and I found all sorts of people working in tiny spaces and building their apparatus up walls and attaching them to the ceilings so that they could get enough space to work in. One got the impression that where we would put one man in the United States, the Russians had put two Ph.D.'s and six assistants . . . Since there seem to be almost no budgetary limitations on fundamental research, all the projects I saw were adequately instrumented. In sharp contrast to the display of equipment were the old buildings in which some of the research institutes were housed.⁸⁸

Facilities in the United States schools, which only a few years ago were regarded by many as nice to have but somehow rather "extra" and certainly expensive, were suddenly seen in a new light after the advent of Sputnik. Certain it is that "the little red school house" is currently an inadequate symbol for an expression of educational facilities.

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication. Inter-student communication functions in the socialization of students as well as in the actual information intake. Figure 4, by describing the friendship choices of girls in a dormitory at Michigan State University, actually describes a communication network as well.⁸⁹ The data recorded on the chart contributes to an understanding of how news and rumors could spread so fast in the dormitory, the kind of sub-group coalescence

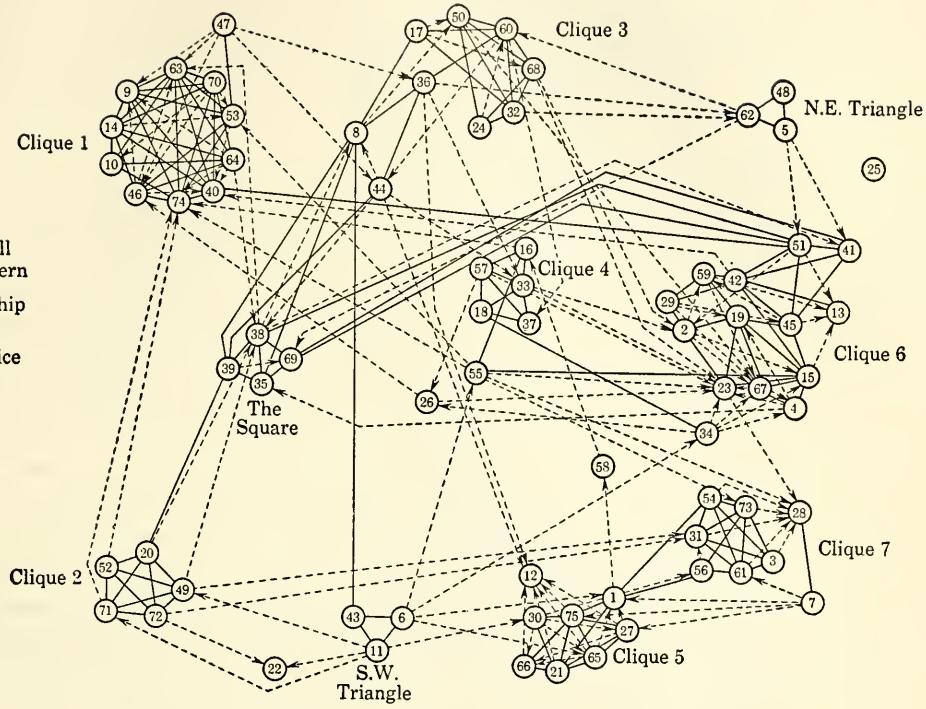


FIGURE 4

SOCIOGRAM SHOWING FRIENDSHIP IN A GIRLS' DORMITORY IN AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. NOTE THAT THE TEN GIRLS IN CLIQUE 1 CONSTITUTE ALMOST A CLOSED SYSTEM OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES. THE INTEGRATION AND SOLIDARY NATURE OF THE GROUP IS INDICATED BY MANY MUTUAL CHOICES WITHIN THE GROUP. HOWEVER, THE TWO CHOICES OUTSIDE THE CLIQUE AND THE NINE UNRECIPROCATED CHOICES INTO IT FROM OUTSIDE ESTABLISH SYSTEMIC LINKAGE WITH THE REST OF THE DORMITORY GROUPS. THE SYSTEMIC LINKAGE OF CLIQUE 3 WITH OTHER GROUPS PROVIDES MORE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE OUTSIDE THAN THAT OF CLIQUE 1.*

* Original source: Lucille Mick, "A Sociometric Study of Dormitory Cleavages on Michigan State College Campus," M.A. thesis, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Mich. 1949.

which was responsible for much decision making in the dormitory, and the conflicting interpretations attached to events by groups within the dormitory. The importance of such networks of communication was demonstrated the morning after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death. Delbert Miller interviewed 143 students in a random sample of college students and all but 21 had heard of the news of the president's death by word of mouth.⁹⁰ The original 16 who had heard of the event by radio thus activated an enormous amount of word of mouth communication. Data such as that shown in Figure 4 is unavailable for Russian and Mexican college students. However, there are such charts for various elementary and secondary schools on the United States side of the U.S.-Mexican Border.⁹¹ These charts show a cleavage or blockage in communication between the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking groups. Many educators believe that the interaction which comes about by being thrown together in the schools has already affected and will continue to "provide a basis for the growth of mutual understanding between different cultural, religious, and occupational groups. . . . Free schools where the future doctor, lawyer, professor, politician, banker, industrial executive, labor leader, and manual worker have studied and played together from the ages of 15 to 17 are a characteristic of large sections of the United States; they are an American invention."⁹² The student mores that tend to erect a barrier between the students and the teaching staff affect the quantity and kind of communication as well as the impact it is permitted to make. Communication in large enough quantities and of the stuff which could change attitudes was found only in a few colleges such as Antioch, Bennington and Sara Lawrence, and even here the attitudes were changed relatively little. The atmosphere created by "the community of liberal-minded scholars" apparently abounded less in the many other institutions relying on mass education such as the huge state universities and the large privately supported universities. The barriers to interaction and extensive communication were more severe here, and attitudes did not change perceptibly at these institutions.⁹³

The media used in the schools vary greatly from country to country. The scarcity of the Mexican texts and the standardization of the Soviet texts, which eliminates the possibility of choice,

contrasts with the situation in the United States where the supply is ample and the variety great. The experimental use of television-instructed classes has begun. What kind of educational television will ultimately be used in schools is not known. Its present supporters envision the truly great teacher reaching thousands of students all over the land, and its critics see in it a totalitarian potential. Whether or not it is used directly by the schools for course instruction, there is no question that it, along with radio and the expanded products of the printing press, has greatly enlarged the school child's world. Thanks to the media the modern school student knows something about a great many more things than did the last generation of students.

Boundary maintenance. In the United States professional educators, political scientists, and thousands of private citizens who have studied the situation have agreed for almost half a century that there are too many independent school districts for the maintenance of effective school systems within each district. No better evidence that boundary maintenance is effective is needed than that there still are over 100,000 such school districts. The function of such boundary maintenance would seem to lie in the extremely high value attached to localism and local control. It is expressed by local groups rather than the schools themselves.⁹⁴ This particular form of boundary maintenance can be expected to diminish in importance as meaningful systemic linkages between the small locality and the larger centers become institutionalized.

A large complex of traditions and values are connected with the citizens' devotion to the maintenance of his small school district: his personal knowledge of his neighbors who are school board members; his traditional idea that the school which his child attends must be a part of an easily accessible central organization; his desire that the child not have to walk too far or ride a bus too long; his hope that taxes will not be too burdensome and that school finances remain simple enough that he can understand them; and his preferences for the present system with its known strengths and weaknesses over a proposed system with unknown qualities. Few of these cherished conditions which comprise the rationale of school district boundary maintenance would be violated by most school district rearrangements, but as was demonstrated above, the decision making process is sufficiently laborious

that it is safe to predict that the boundaries as they exist in the United States and Mexico will be maintained, only to be realigned piece-meal and slowly.

Other boundaries of a more subtle nature are maintained throughout the educational systems. Clique groupings exert subtle social pressures and racial and ethnic groupings can be found in some schools. Competition among teachers for the sole devotion of the student's extra-curricular time to particular activities can create boundaries, for example, between the band group and the basketball group or the year-book group and the debate team. Schisms over subject matter, research grants, personalities, and administrative support develop in college and university faculties with student adherents to both factions constituting somewhat separate entities. The student sub-system that erects effective barriers against anything but a minimum of faculty-academic influence is maintaining dysfunctional boundaries.

The "captive audience" which each school houses some six or seven hours a day, with the direct pipe-line to most homes in the area, is a tempting target for many organizations which flourish within the community. Special education groups—such as those interested in health, safety, world government, the humane treatment of animals, community philanthropy, and many other subjects—eye the class-rooms as likely vehicles for the reception of special literature and for the support of special projects. How much of this can be incorporated into a well-balanced school program and where the line should be drawn is a boundary maintenance question.

Systemic Linkage. The most important link in the chain which binds the school system to other social systems is manifest in compulsory school attendance. While it is true that most people are inevitably linked to most of the important social systems of society there is, in the United States and Mexico at least, a certain amount of choice inherent in the linkage. If a family has a child, however, it is inevitably linked to the school system for a period of eight to twelve years or longer. Furthermore, in the United States, by law and by tradition the school systems are legally linked to the community through the school board and to the state and to the nation by constitutional mandate.

The process of systemic linkage as it concerns the public

school is not so much how to establish such linkage as how to maintain a desirable balance among all of the systems with which it is linked. Ideas like the community-school promote the close integration of every community activity into a school-linked activity; as such it represents one extreme of systemic linkage. Of one such example it is written that

... the avowed purpose of the school is "to improve living conditions—economic, social, recreational—in this rural community." A cannery has been built and is now being operated by teachers and students. Fruit, vegetables, and meat are canned, either on shares with the farmers assisting, or by the school upon the payment of a small fee. A meat refrigeration plant has been constructed and turned over to the students to operate. Students assist farmers in planting and pruning fruit trees, and the school maintains a spraying service for the use of the community. In the shops, farm implements are constructed and repaired.⁹⁵

In the United States or Mexico at least the impracticality of such a plan for communities such as Los Alamos, or those whose major industry is a steel mill or a mine, or even a town in which most of the fathers are employed as college professors, is easy to see. The opposite extreme representing the least integrated systemic linkages in a community is not so clear. It may exist in a great city's very wealthy suburbs where zoning laws prohibit industry and commerce, where citizens pay a good-sized tax bill for the support of schools whose management they turn over to professional educators, and where parents have neither the time nor inclination to interfere with a professional job on their youngsters. The increasingly specialized, urban and *Gesellschaft*-like setting of American society has at least two characteristics with implications for the feasibility of a curriculum based on linkages to the community. The migration of people and technological change make problematic the advantages of extreme systemic linkage for the student.

Because schools are a function of society, a great many educators think it the duty of the schools . . . to "adapt" the young to the society in which they are to live. Needless to say, if each generation of young is merely fitted to the existing order of things, we will end up with a *Byzantine*, not a *Western*, civilization. . . .

Schools are a part of society but they should not be a complete mirror of society. They should offer not a repetition of experience, but a challenge of and an extension of experience. . . . Yet at a time when schools are in a better position to emancipate themselves from community pressures than ever before, and when the necessity of challenge and experimentation is perhaps stronger than ever before, our schools seem to make a fetish of adaptation and conformity.⁹⁶

Of the linkages beyond the community, the most important and universal in the United States is that to the state. The closeness of that link is shown by the following:

Because of the fundamental belief of our people in the right of local self-government, these units of local government often assume a degree of authority which they do not actually possess. With reference to the administration of a school system, local officials often assume that inherent within local government are the rights and powers essential to the control of that system. This is not the case, however. The only rights which local government has over the schools are those which are specifically delegated to it by the legislature, and those that are necessarily implied from those delegated.⁹⁷

In the United States the linkages with higher levels of government are by and large kept as weak as possible by most local educational systems. States have, on the whole, shown tremendous restraint in changing school district organization to a more efficient pattern, despite the tremendous financial drain multitudinous school districts have made on state finances. Although the schools' financial dependence on the state has increased many times over and although the state has not exacted compliance as a price for financial aid, the local school district still tends to regard linkage with both the state and the federal governments as tantamount to forfeiture of their autonomy.

One final type of systemic linkage occurs with all public school systems whose graduates matriculate at a college or university. Such linkages often are cursory, beginning and ending in an exchange of reports concerning the student. Some preparatory schools are in close linkage with certain colleges at which a high proportion of their graduates matriculate. Certain steps in that direction have been taken to link the state-supported colleges and universities more effectively with the public school systems. For example, the high school counsellors may visit the nearby col-

leges or universities and talk with the recently graduated high school student in an attempt to find out the student's reaction to his high school preparation.

In the USSR systemic linkages between other agencies of the State and the educational system are deeply embedded in the whole educational doctrine of the country.

Children and youth were expected to encourage their elders to vote on election day, to organize celebrations of important events in the history of the revolution, to engage actively in the class struggle, and to propagate . . . the policies of the Party. Indoctrination begins early. Even in the Nursery the 'collectivist' point of view is developed by much stress on good-neighborliness, and even the toys are designed in such a way that children must play together.⁹⁸

The linkage between production systems and the schools is closer than for any nation. Some 38 million workers participate in on-the-job training.

Since the bulk of the industrial labor force in the USSR has been recruited from the peasant class . . . industrialization . . . has been limited as much by lack of competent workers as by almost any other single factor.⁹⁹

Socialization. Perhaps the greatest part the school plays in the total process of socialization is in furnishing the child an institutionalized framework within which to develop into adulthood with a consequent sloughing off of dependence upon the family. What is contributed toward a child's socialization in the school is not unique in the sense that much of the same socializing process would take place no matter where the child was. The school, then, merely provides the continuity by which he is immersed in friendship groups, gradually withdrawn from his family, and has before him selected adult models whose behavior in different kinds of interaction he can observe. Although Brookover admits a dearth of evidence on the subject, he attempts to examine the range of adult models provided to youth by the average school system in the United States.¹⁰⁰ Among his conclusions are:

- 1) the fact that opportunities for introducing youth to a wide variety of professional and occupational models are extremely limited;

- 2) that many more opportunities abound for exposure to middle- and upper-class models than for exposure to lower-class models;
- 3) that there are few chances to see models from countries with markedly different cultures;
- 4) that there is a variously met need to have youth exposed to models who are flexible and adaptable in reacting to many different situations;
- 5) that the teacher as a model is scarcely representative of a cross-section of adult status-role behavior.

The implications are, of course, that for the child socializing for adult life, the school is necessarily very limited as a social laboratory where life models demonstrate the anticipated conduct of social living.

The practice in social interaction provided by the peer groups, by the opportunities for cooperation and for competition, as well as the socializing force of an intimate friendship group is likely to be the most vital part of socialization provided within the setting of the school. "In typical middle-class American life the importance of these later secondary-group contacts, with their relative abruptness and demands for adjustment, is very great."¹⁰¹

It is during the stressful high school period that in American culture the long "mate seeking" period with various institutionalized procedures for interacting with the opposite sex begins. Kinsey found great differences in the sexual behavior of persons who finish only grammar school as compared with those who finish high school, and those who go to college.¹⁰² Certainly the experiences in high school modify the basic patterns learned in the family through socialization. The claim of population experts that industrialization and commercialization of a culture may develop a rational or *Gesellschaft*-like set of sentiments which leads to birth control or family planning, and consequent reduction of the replacement rates is not acceptable to Marxists.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the replacement rates of Russia have on the whole decreased greatly.¹⁰⁴ Some believe that education and industrialization have brought to Russia what the same features of capitalistic society brought to the middle class in the United States. When the social milieu of a large mass of adolescents tends to idealize early love

and marriage, interaction in the school inevitably plays a part in socializing the youth in behavior acceptable to and expected by the opposite sex.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Territoriality. The geographical relation of the school to the home and community is a central consideration in educational policy. Many schools are located in centers of such heavy population that their enrollment tends to be bigger than educators believe wise. As many or more schools are located in areas of such sparse population that their enrollment and supporting tax base does not begin to provide the facilities educators and parents alike think necessary. The neighborhood schools in the rural areas of the United States are gradually being replaced by the trade center community school which is much larger than the district school and, ideally, has all the elementary and secondary facilities and may have the beginning years of college. Although the lack of facilities of the typical, traditional rural school is generally deplored, its passing from the scene is nevertheless regretted by many. It was from the *Gemeinschaft*-like neighborhood school of the frontier period that the United States inherited the most locally and democratically controlled school system in the world. The larger, more bureaucratic school can without question yield more instructional materials and better trained personnel, but it has a difficult time matching the atmosphere in which the teacher was known intimately to all the parents and to all the students. In these schools the students' families knew each other well, the neighborhood was but an extension of the home, and but one step removed from the most primary of relations. The huge high schools, having 5,000 or more students and the huge colleges and universities, having 10,000 or more students can scarcely avoid the kind of bureaucracy which has won for them the questionably distinctive title of "education factories." The use of many tempering techniques such as "home rooms," "personal advisors," "guidance staffs," and "house tutors"—mitigate but do not completely remedy some of the machine-like characteristics of the large *Gesellschaft*-like school.

Size and related factors. A source of stress in higher educational institutions is not unlike that resulting from rationalization

and industrialization of underdeveloped areas. One of the most important studies of pressures upon social scientists in universities of the United States divides the organizations into those called "traditional" and those called "secular." In reality this division is not unlike the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy used in the present monograph,

. . . anthropologists and sociologists often . . . talk about the traditional ways of life that are found in rural communities or in societies not yet invaded by industrialization. They stress certain characteristics shared by these traditional social organisms: close social ties, belief in authority, distrust of change. In societies at the opposite extreme one finds more division of labor, greater emphasis on personal success and achievement, and on intellectual values.¹⁰⁵

The investigators then, with some qualifications, type denominational and teachers colleges as "traditional" and "tax-supported and privately endowed colleges" as more "secular." Secular colleges have the most distinguished professors, the highest achievers, the most "liberal" and the highest paid staffs. However, it is the traditional and small colleges where the largest proportion of teachers report unusually good relations between faculty and administration and among faculty members. Here the traditional or *Gemeinschaft*-like systems provide rewards in the internal pattern which may compensate in part for lower rewards (salaries) in the external pattern (Essay 2). The affectively neutral and functionally specific relationship of the large universities with their universalistic achievement standards place greater stress upon individual achievement than do the smaller organizations. It is hypothesized that the tensions which largeness, changing facilities, and rapid growth have brought to the U.S. also exist in USSR and will increasingly develop in Mexico.

NOTES

1. George H. Mead, "The Psychology of Social Consciousness Implied in Instruction," *Science*, Vol. 31, pp. 689-690.
2. Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 13.
3. V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* (New York, 1943), Vol. XI, p. 658.
4. Avila Camacho, *Mexican News*, September 3, 1944, in A. Curtis

Wilgus (ed.), *Readings in Latin American Civilization* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1946), pp. 310-311.

5. F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 454.

6. George Kneller, *The Education of the Mexican Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 104.

7. As indicated in Essay 1, the separation of elements and processes for a given structure-functional category serves the purpose of enabling the investigator to separate analysis of static and dynamic aspects of a system. For *feeling* the authors' knowledge of the system under review, in the present essay is not sufficient to specify and separate sentiment and its articulating processes, communication of sentiment and tension management, an element and two processes of great importance in the internal pattern.

8. Harold Benjamin, "Education in a Democracy," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1949, Vol. 265, pp. 10-11. Walt Whitman who often spoke the sentiments of the people expressed somewhat the same feeling as follows: "One man is as good as any other man—and a damn sight better!"

9. Walter Lippman, *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1955). Cited by Gordon Keith Chalmers "The Purpose of Learning" in *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1955, Vol. 301, pp. 7ff.

10. Gordon Keith Chalmers, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

11. Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross-Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955).

12. *Education in the USSR*, Division of International Education, International Education Research Branch, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bulletin 1957, No. 14, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 55.

13. George S. Counts, *The Challenge of Soviet Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1957), pp. 122-123.

14. C. Wayne Gordon, *The Social System of the High School* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 42.

15. Melvin Seeman, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Aug. 1953, pp. 373ff. See also Neal Gross, *et al.* *Exploration in Role Analysis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957). The lack of role consensus among school board members and superintendents is well documented by this study.

16. Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*; translated and with an introduction by Sherwood D. Fox; foreword by Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 71.

17. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

18. *Your School District*, The Report of the National Commission of School District Reorganization (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1948), p. 61.

19. George Kneller, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 62-64.

20. Ralph Beals and Norman D. Humphreys, *No Frontier to Learning—*

The Mexican Student in the United States (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 25.

21. C. Wayne Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
22. Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.
23. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.
24. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
26. Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
27. Harold Alberty, "How May the Schools Further Democracy" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 265, Sept. 1949, p. 20.
28. Gordon Keith Chalmers, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.
29. Raymond Bauer, *Nine Soviet Portraits* (New York: Published jointly by Technology Press of Mass. Institute of Tech. & John Wiley, 1955).
30. Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1956). After the present essay was in galley proof much more comprehensive data and interpretation became available. See Rose K. Goldsen, Morris Rosenberg, Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Edward A. Suchman, *What College Students Think* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960). This latter study disputes the findings of Jacob on many counts. The Goldsen study types students as success-oriented, other-directed, and intellectual. It is interesting to note that the students who are most successful academically tend to become more committed to a "Bill of Rights" orientation in the latter years of college. As students progress through college the toleration of diversity increases although some and usually the same students retain prejudices against minority groups, willingness to suppress civil liberties, and manifest strong conformist and traditionalistic social attitudes. *Ibid.*
31. Goodwin B. Watson, *Education and Social Welfare in Mexico* (New York: Council Pan-American Democracy, 1940) and cited in George Knel-ler, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
32. J. O'M. Bockris, "A Scientist's Impressions of Russian Research," in *The Reporter*, Feb. 20, 1958, p. 15.
33. Andrew R. MacAndrew, *op. cit.*, p. 12. See footnote 42 below.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
35. Henry Steele Commager, "Victims of Success," *Saturday Review*, May 3, 1958, p. 13.
36. Andrew R. MacAndrew, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
37. George S. Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 96ff.
38. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
39. Samuel A. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 and 43.
40. Wilbur B. Brookover, pp. 238-239. *A Sociology of Education* (New York: American Book Co., 1955).
41. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 241.
42. Andrew MacAndrew, "Are Soviet Schools Better Than Ours?", in *The Reporter*, Feb. 20, 1958, pp. 13-14. The author bases this figure on the ratio between the number of students who began first grade and the number of "maturity certificates" issued upon successful completion of a state test to graduates of ten-year schools. He claims that for every 1000 children

who start first grade 125 are awarded the certificate, thus indicating a drop some place along the way of 875 students.

43. Wilbur B. Brookover, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
44. J. O'M. Bockris, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
47. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2.
48. Pravda, Jan. 22, 1941, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 131.
49. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
51. Article 8 of the Mexican Constitution as cited in Nathan Whetton, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 431.
52. Theodore L. Reller, "Organization of the Educational System," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 265, Sept. 1949, pp. 38-9.
53. *Ibid.*
54. N. B. Henry and J. G. Kerwin, *Schools and City Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 65-66.
55. William Form and Delbert Miller, *Industry and the Community* (New York: Harpers, 1960).
56. W. W. Rostow, *et al.*, *The Dynamics of Soviet Society* (New York: The New American Library, 1954), p. 57.
57. Andrew R. MacAndrew, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
58. W. W. Rostow, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
59. Andrew MacAndrew, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
60. Andrew S. Draper, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses* (National Educational Association, 1896), p. 201; as cited by Edgar W. Knight, "The Evolving and Expanding Common School," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1949, Vol. 265, p. 92.
61. The authors' knowledge of the systems under review in the present Essay is not sufficient to specify and separate rank as element and evaluation as process in ranking and allocation of status-roles.
62. C. Wright Mills, *White Collar—The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 129.
63. Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, 1951 (ed.), p. 129. Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News* (September 1, 1947).
64. Nicholas De Witt, *Soviet Professional Manpower*, National Science Foundation (Washington, D.C.: 1955), p. 114.
65. George S. Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
66. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
67. J. O'M. Bockris, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
68. Ralph L. Beals, "Social Stratification in Latin America," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 4, Jan. 1953, p. 339.
69. Prominent in these studies is the program undertaken by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council, supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. See reports by Richard T. Morris, M. Brewster Smith, Rose K. Goldsen, Edward A. Suchman, Robin M. Williams, and David G. Mandelbaum in the *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 12, No. 1. Also Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *op. cit.*

70. Patricia S. West, "Social Mobility Among College Graduates," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 465-6.

71. Various United States Census Reports show the relation between education and income. See, e.g., Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 3, June 3, 1948, "Income of the Non-farm Population: 1946," and No. 5, February 7, 1949, "Income of Families and Persons in the U.S. 1947.

72. Hans Rogger, "Frustration and Boredom in Russian Youth," in *The Reporter*, Feb. 20, 1958, p. 19.

73. For sanctioning, the authors' knowledge of the systems under review in the present Essay is not sufficient to specify and separate sanction as an element from application of sanctions as process.

74. George S. Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 168

75. Nicholas De Witt, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-144.

76. J. O'M. Bockris, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

77. *Ibid.*

78. J. O'M. Bockris, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

79. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Annual Report*, cited by Max Ascoli, "Our Cut-Rate Education," an editorial, *The Reporter*, Feb. 20, 1958, p. 9.

80. The authors' knowledge of the systems under review in the present Essay is not sufficient to specify and separate facility as an element from utilization of facilities as process.

81. Edgar W. Knight, "The Evolving and Expanding Common School," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 265, Sept. 1949, p. 99.

82. *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*, October 1957, as cited by Andrew R. Mac-Andrew, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-4.

83. Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *et al.*, *No Frontier to Learning*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

84. Andrew R. MacAndrew, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

85. *Your School District*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

86. Ordway Tead, "New Frontiers in Higher Education," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 265, Sept. 1949, pp. 118, 119.

87. Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *No Frontier to Learning*, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 81.

88. J. O'M. Bockris, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

89. Lucille Mick, "A Sociometric Study of Dormitory Cleavages on Michigan State College Campus," M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan, 1949. See also John Gullahorn, "Distance and Friendship as Factors in the Gross Interaction Matrix," February-May, 1952, *Sociometry*.

90. Delbert Miller, "A Research Note on Mass Communication," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 5, October, 1945, pp. 691-4.

91. Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany*, East Lansing, State College Book Store, 1945, Ch. 17, and Nellie Holmes Loomis, *Ethnic Cleavages in*

a New Mexican High School, Michigan State University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1955.

92. James Bryant Conant, *Education and Liberty—The Role of the Schools in a Modern Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 62 and 87.

93. Philip E. Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

94. Arnold Anderson comments that our focus here should be the school since boundary maintenance is the other side of systemic linkage. The two are inseparable (From correspondence). His point is well taken but in the resistance to school reorganization and consolidation the local school and locality groups are so linked that they fuse. They maintain boundaries against larger systems, both school and locality group, which they feel will "gobble them up."

95. *The Story of Holtville*, Southern Association Study, Holtville (Ala.) Public Schools, 1944. As cited by Harold Alberty, "How May the Schools Further Democracy?", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 265, Sept. 1949, p. 23.

96. Henry Steele Commager, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

97. Lee O. Garber and William B. Castetter, "Functions of Government in Educational Controls," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 265, Sept. 1949, pp. 33-4.

98. George S. Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

99. *Education in the USSR*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

100. Wilbur B. Brookover, *op. cit.*, pp. 340ff.

101. James Bryant Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

102. Alfred C. Kinsey *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), p. 334.

103. Roderich von Ungern Sternberg, *The Causes of the Decline in Birth-Rate Within the European Sphere of Civilization* (Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island: Eugenics Research Association, Monograph Series No. IV, 1931), p. 202.

104. Dept. of Social Affairs, Population Studies No. 20, *Population Growth and the Standard of Living in Under-Developed Countries* (New York: United Nations, 1954), p. 3.

105. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., *The Academic Mind* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 27. See also Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958).

ESSAY 7

SOCIAL SYSTEMS FOR HEALTH

Most societies provide care for the sick and take precautions against the onset of illness. In primitive societies these preventive measures may take the form of propitiating the proper powers and gods. As rationality and science increasingly control disease, prevention becomes fully as important as treatment. An acceptable definition of health becomes one which balances the negative attributes of sickness with the positive ones of health. Health is a state which "connotes not only the absence of manifest disease, but also the absence of non-manifest and undiagnosed disease or impairment. A perfectly healthy person is one totally adjusted to himself and his environment."¹ There is a tremendous variation in the nature of collectivities which deal with health. The lone physician and his patient compose a health system just as does a great medical center which draws upon dozens of specialties for prevention, diagnosis, and treatment. Multiply these possibilities by the societies of the world which entertain different beliefs concerning illness, different methods of treating it, and different ways of preventing it to see the necessity for sharply limiting the systems to be dealt with in this essay.²

The doctor-patient relation is central in the many social systems. Even among the team of doctors at a clinic, the patient generally regards one of the doctors as "his." Tangential to this core patient-doctor relationship are those units established by the addition of other health specialists, three of which will be occasionally treated in this essay. One such tangential system is that in which the nurse plays an added part; the second is that in which the medical social worker functions. The third is the hospital it-

self where a complex of many skills and specialties are found. The additional ingredients of organization and administration make the hospital a fruitful system for sociological analysis.

ELEMENTS AND ELEMENTAL PROCESSES OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS IN HEALTH

KNOWING

Belief (knowledge) as an element. The beliefs underlying the various health systems are consistent with the basic beliefs of the larger societies. Dubois summarizes the basic belief system of the United States:

- (1) a mechanistically conceived universe,
- (2) man's mastery over that universe . . . ,
- (3) the equality of man,
- (4) man's perfectibility.³

When these are applied to this country's health systems a constellation of beliefs along the following line emerges. Being well is normal; being below peak condition is abnormal. If man accumulates sufficient knowledge and manages himself and his environment accordingly, sickness can be avoided and/or successfully combatted. Health and health care are basic and inalienable rights of everyone; moreover, everyone can in a sense require health and health care of others since each individual's state of health affects and is affected by that of every other individual. Man is steadily growing healthier. If vanquished health hazards are replaced by new ones, they too will be conquered. It is possible for man to make himself healthy his whole life through.

Parsons has observed that religious beliefs influence the social systems of health. In religions centered on beliefs in transcendental supernatural entities such as that found in certain Catholic societies "high mortality in the earlier years of life tends to be accepted as God's will which it either is not possible to attempt to do anything about or, even, it is held, might be contrary to religion to do so."⁴ On the other hand, in scientific medicine in cases in which cure is uncertain and subject to considerable unpredictability, because magic is taboo, an optimistic bias similar to that noted by Malinowski in deep sea fishing among primitives, is

noted. "The world over the rational approach to health through applied science is . . . the exception rather than the rule, and in our society there is, even today, a very large volume of 'superstition' and other non- or irrational beliefs and practices in the health field."⁵ All societies have both cultural and social structuring of ideas about death which may be related to the practice of health. Beliefs about the sacredness of the cadaver require that ordinary attitudes be overcome.

Beliefs relevant to health in Latin America. Despite well-trained doctors and scientifically oriented universities, the beliefs of the rank and file in Latin America demand different health systems than those that flourish in the United States.⁶ Among their different beliefs are 1) a minimization of the degree to which the universe is controllable;⁷ 2) a two-thousand-year-old folk belief which types diseases as "cold" and "hot" and relates them to body humors, a belief stemming from Hippocratic pathology;⁸ 3) a belief that disease stems from supernatural or magical causes of which the "evil eye" is a well-known example;⁹ 4) a belief that worldly inequalities will be equalized after death;¹⁰ and 5) a greater readiness toward acceptance and resignation than is characteristic of the Anglo.¹¹

Health teams that emerge amidst such beliefs are apt to be structurally and operationally different from Anglo teams. Even those with a scientific orientation succeed more markedly if they adjust their explanations and techniques of treatment to be harmonious with the prevalent belief system. Thus, if the belief system requires, as it often does, that a "hot" medicine be used for a "cold" disease, it may behoove the doctor to prescribe an ingredient that will make the medicine seem hot, even though there is no therapy in the heat.

Cognitive mapping and validation as process. The members of the health related professions in the science oriented societies generally subject their beliefs to scientific validation. Beliefs change as knowledge accumulates. Cause, prevention, and treatment of innumerable human ailments are viewed differently as new factors become known. The distinguishing feature about the validation of knowledge in the social system characterized by a high degree of rationality is the conscious pursuit of knowledge concerning a particular ailment, its nature, identification, and

treatment in contrast to the accumulation of knowledge through trial and error.

The latter method of validation gives rise to a traditional body of knowledge which in time may become hallowed and unquestioned, the connecting links of understanding concerning its original validation by successful trials having been lost in the process. While there are a great number of social systems whose members handle their health problems entirely by the traditional folk knowledge, there are probably no extensive social groups which govern their health affairs entirely by knowledge borne of scientifically validated investigations. Much of the useful in medicine and health would be ruled out if each health practice were required to have sprung from rationally pursued knowledge of a particular disease. For example, quinine, until recently the only known specific treatment for malaria, issued from a trial and error empirical testing on the part of natives of tropical countries. Yet many of the folk remedies have proven worthless and have passed out of existence. Many of the scientifically validated remedies have become increasingly effective, although some of the latter have also been superseded by others. It is impossible to say, therefore, that there is a "correct" way or a "good" way to validate health knowledge and that other ways are necessarily inferior.

FEELING

Sentiment as an element. Sentiments, insofar as they are reflected in health systems, revolve chiefly around pain and crises of birth and death; feeling is attached, too, to kinds of care: warm vs. distant personal relations; familiar vs. unfamiliar surroundings; kin or neighbor vs. specialist attendants. Sentiment is also involved when health practices oppose normatively supported and traditional activity. Killing cattle with Bangs disease, the prohibition of certain water sources for drinking purposes, and speed limits on dangerous highways are all met with emotional opposition even in a society where rational controls have high priority. The emotional reaction of more traditional societies can be imagined by supposing that the holy Ganges were to be divested of its sacred and healing properties by being declared polluted and unsafe.

Tension management and communication of sentiment as

process. The legitimation of the patient status-role is itself a tension-management device for the patient. He is under the strain of being 1) helpless, 2) technically incompetent and 3) emotionally involved and for these reasons entitled to help.¹² Help in the form of cooperation from a physician surpasses the mutual benefit derived by the interactors in a businessman-patron or salesman-client relation. Unlike these relations, which often are completely self-oriented and *Gesellschaft*-like, the physician-patient relation is collectivity-oriented forming a *Gemeinschaft*-like "community of fate" because the "welfare of the patient must come ahead of the self-interest of the doctor."¹³ The collectivity-orientation with its tacit promise of transferring some of the burden from the patient to the doctor reduces the tensions for the patient but obviously increases the tension-potential for the doctor. The protection against destructive stresses and emotions afforded the doctor lies in the affective neutrality and relative functional specificity normatively required in the physician status-role. Emotional or sentimental involvement is thereby avoided and the area of concern limited. The doctor is expected to be dedicated to the welfare of his patient but restrained in affective involvement. That the two are thought to be mutually exclusive is shown by the typical avoidance of relatives as patients. Parsons has observed that some physicians do not like to take patients through successive difficult sicknesses because of the involvement of sentiments resulting from having "shared the fight." Because of the sentiments between friends, physicians do not usually like to give medical advice to friends at social affairs—preferring the status-role support provided by the office.

The status-roles of certain medical personnel must also be insulated against the societal sentiments which focus on the dead. The dissection of a cadaver included in formal medical training becomes something of a solemn ritual—a symbolic act charged with affect because various tensions and sentiments are never completely overcome in the medical arts. The strain due to uncertainty and incurability of some cases leads, so Parsons reports, to what Pareto has called the "need to manifest sentiments by external acts."¹⁴ This set of sentiments, often stemming from the family or patient's intimates and communicated to the physician, may result in overactivity in operating or in giving medicine.

The expression of sentiment is of course, normatively governed. The Anglo pattern of sentiment communication (and this of course includes the dominant American pattern) is undemonstrative; it scarcely acknowledges the reality of pain and death; grief reactions are minimized and hopefulness in illness and death is maximized.¹⁵ The connection of this process with the belief in a mechanistic universe and in man's control over it is apparent; to be overcome by grief would be inconsistent with the belief that "everything's under control." The potential inconsistency of belief with reality is a source of frustration which often maximizes the reliance upon the supernatural (Essay 1). In contrast to the optimism of the Anglo, the Mexican pattern demands the "doloroso," the heart-rending, the painful, and the sad. The Anglo tends to minimize pain, but the Jew and the Italian seem to express pain much more freely and to prefer doing so in the presence of others. The health system characterized by affective neutrality is much more compatible with the sentiment expression of the Anglo patient than it is with the sentiment expression of the Latino.

The Anglo health organizations however, seem to have outdone themselves in terms of bureaucratic efficiency. Recent health literature attests to attempts to infuse the dispensing of medicine with the heart as well as with the hand, to make the patient "feel at home in the hospital," and to reduce the awe and fear of the cold, the unknown, the impersonal. Thus must technical requirements of medical practice be balanced with the basic sentiments of those who compose the system.

ACHIEVING

End, goal, or objective as an element. The goal of the sick person is recovery—a goal determined not only by the patient but by all of the relevant collectivities. Implicit in his relation to the patient is the physician's goal of facilitating the latter's recovery to the best of his ability. There is thus a merging of goals in a "community of fate" in that neither can achieve his goal alone.

Although this is the core goal in the social system comprised of the doctor and the patient, the objective is sometimes broadened so that any physical or psychological condition that renders the patient less than maximally effective becomes the target. The

doctor may, for example, be expected to treat not only injuries resulting from accidents but those conditions that make some persons "accident prone." Implicit in this or any other objective is the shared nature of the goal; the patient too must be trying to bring about the changed state.

Goal attaining and concomitant "latent" activity as process. Goal attaining activity of members of science-oriented health systems is somewhat *Gesellschaft*-like, although it is not as polarized in this respect as in many other social systems. Although the doctor and the others on the professional health team cannot and do not become affectively involved, they do not treat the disease without due regard for the affected individual. In general there is an attempt to choose the least painful method of treatment, to soften the blow of bad news, to take stock of the patient as an individual and treat him accordingly. Although their relations to the patient tend to be functionally specific, the medical people usually must take into account factors about the patient besides his sickness—his need to return to work, the kind of care he is likely to receive after discharge, and so on. The activity and relations involved are somewhat more functionally diffuse than are those in the goal attaining activity of many other social systems.

Among the health objectives implicit in the definition of health as used in this essay are those involving the environment. Although the pursuit and fulfillment of these generally involve a community or a society and therefore are generally beyond the sphere of the health systems examined here, it may be hypothesized that the greater the number of sub-systems involved in a particular health goal the less strict and functionally specific or single-purposed will be the activity expended in achieving that goal. Strontium-90 fall-out, for example, is recognized and feared as a health hazard; but its control involves the top policy-making groups of every major power in the world today. The community which faces a health hazard because of smog may determine that its number of automobile exhausts, its number of heavy industries, and its local weather conditions contribute to the situation; however, action to rid the community of smog or the world of fall-out can be neither as direct nor single-purposed as the treatment of pneumonia. Public health action and its necessary relations may

be functionally diffuse and involve many systems. As Merton has observed,

The physician must do all he can to prevent, and not only to help cure, illness. *But:* society more largely rewards medical men for the therapy they effect as practitioners and only secondarily rewards those engaged in the prevention of illness, particularly since prevention is not as readily visible to patients who do not know that they remain healthy because of preventive measures.¹⁶

NORMING, STANDARDIZING, AND PATTERNING

Norm as an element. The collectivity orientation of the physician-patient relation tends to be preserved by the norms that restrict both the patient and the doctor from disruptive liaisons. Normative standards restrain the patient from "shopping around." When a patient is not satisfied with physician A he is supposed to have A call physician B and not see B independently unless he terminates his relation with A. Likewise the physician cannot advertise or bargain over fees nor refuse patients on grounds of credit risks. If these privileges of business were permitted in the sense of "*caveat emptor*" they would be dysfunctional to the collectivity and to the "community of fate" of doctor and patient. The physician has the privilege of charging on a "sliding scale" which segregates him and his patient from the market and business world and, theoretically at least, bolsters collectivity orientation.

Some of the traditional norms are in a state of change as the general practitioner is being replaced by the team of specialists.¹⁷ The kind of intimate pattern of partners in fate is virtually impossible to maintain when several separate departments are responsible for the diagnosis, a number of these for subsequent treatment, another for surgery, and still another for other therapies. The patient does not feel a loyalty and identity with one doctor, nor does any doctor regard the individual as "his" patient. "How to divide responsibility *for* the patient and how to divide fees *from* the patient" is still a relatively normless procedure. It reflects the loss of an intense individual responsibility, which in the future will probably have to be replaced by "a greater sense of the collective responsibility of the profession to society."¹⁸

Evaluation as a process. In a society in which evaluative judgments tend to be universalistic and rational the patient or prospective patient often knows that he is in a disadvantageous position when attempting to choose a physician.

Although "the personal choice of physician" is an excellent ideal, it does not, under current conditions, work well in practice. . . . The art of medicine is intricate; the relation of the treatment of the sick to results obtained cannot be appraised by a layman; in medicine, almost more certainly than anywhere else, the patient has not the knowledge requisite for judgment.¹⁹

Because the physician's skills are too specialized to be effectively evaluated by anyone lacking the skills, special importance accrues to the evaluative standards by which physicians admit newcomers to their ranks and demand of those already admitted a continuing demonstration that their standards are being maintained. Yet, "in almost every city reputable physicians will admit—at least in private—that the competence of their fellows is not in accord with their respective reputations."²⁰ For many patients personal attention is more important than antisepsis, precision, and efficiency. A pleasing bed-side manner may be more highly valued than a highly developed diagnostic ability.

It is in the peculiar blend of the *Gemeinschaft*-like aspects of the interaction—the collectivity orientation and the "community of fate" definition of the relation, coupled with the obviously *Gesellschaft*-like aspects of the interaction—affectionate neutrality, functional specificity, and universality—that the evaluative process encounters its major dilemmas. The patient wants someone with whom he feels right but who at the same time, in the patient's view, "knows his business."

The doctor must confront many imponderables. He must diagnose—a special kind of evaluative process that varies tremendously with the training of the physician. Some physicians are trained to regard diagnosis as a science that involves numerous laboratory analyses, group consultations, and the examination of the patient under a variety of contrived conditions. For others, chiefly those with European backgrounds, diagnosis is more intuitive; it is an "art" involving the physician's knowledge of the patient and the total *Gestalt* of the case. Whether "art" or "science" the diagnos-

ing represents an evaluation by the physician. He must often evaluate, and sometimes on slight evidence, the emotional resiliency and general adaptability of the patient. He must evaluate what and how much can be done in the name of science as he continues to extend horizons by experiment and discovery and at what point such experimentation and discovery is detrimental to the best interests of his patient. He must evaluate what and how much to tell the patient.

To speak of telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth to a patient is absurd. . . . It is certain that you can by no possibility convey to the patient accurate information . . . independently of the associated affective processes . . . because it is quite impossible . . . this . . . does not relieve the physician of his moral responsibility. On the contrary, as we more clearly perceive the immense complexity of the phenomena, our appreciation of the difficulty of the task increases and with it our moral responsibility.²¹

DIVIDING THE FUNCTIONS

Status-role incorporating both element and process. Among the hundreds of status-roles in the many social systems for health those chosen here for brief discussion are those of the physician, hospital administrator, nurse, medical social worker, and patient.

The physician status-role charges its incumbent with duties and privileges possessing notably distinct and special characteristics. The physician must throw in his lot with that of his patient in what has been called the "collectivity orientation." As Parsons has observed, this condition is rather exceptional in our society; it requires that the "welfare" of the patient come before the personal interests of physician and supposedly the profit motive is excluded. The physician must have access to the body of the patient and to his private life; the patient may assume a child-like status-role and want the doctor to assume the parent status-role. The physician's status-role has built-in protection from the dangers inherent in these necessities. Actually even the militantly anti-psychiatric organic physician practices "unconscious psychotherapy." The physician's role provides an "Archimedian place to stand" outside the reciprocities of ordinary intercourse which enables him to deny reciprocity. Institutional protection against reciprocity may prevent him from becoming lover, parent, or per-

sonal enemy. The functional specificity and affective neutrality of the status-role supported by professional ethics make confidential the information needed from the patient and supposedly helps restrain sexual attraction of patient for doctor or the development of other diffuse and particularistic involvements.

There is, however, a diffuse aspect of the physician's duties which cannot be entirely encompassed within office hours or within proper settings; he must attend when and where needed because of the urgency of the condition for which he is often called—new life, unbearable pain, disfigurement, and death.

The duties are usually non-transferrable to any other status-role and a professional blunder is often irrevocable.

There is little wonder that a "halo" effect results and makes the physician as conspicuous in extra-health affairs as he is in the organizations directly related to his status-role. A whole literature is growing up around the professional role of the physician.²² Oswald Hall has shown how variations in primacy of reference groups and the inclination of the physician create various types of careers.²³ For example there is the *colleague* career oriented toward ranking among doctors and in their institutions; the *friendly* career oriented toward personal relations; and the *individualistic* career the incumbents of which resemble business men in that they vie for patients and attempt to make money.

The nurse status-role defines the incumbent's duties to the patient and to the doctor. The nurse deals with personal and intimate aspects of patient care, much as the doctor does, but with much less responsibility. Toward the patient the status-role has traditionally called for an exhibition of medical-technical competence and the dispensing of physical and mental comfort. This latter came into disrepute during the 1920's and 1930's as nurses concerted their efforts to be professionals. Although this aspect of the model is again recognized as important by progressive nursing organizations and well-trained young nurses have internalized it, there was "a generation of nurses who were somewhat shamefaced about tenderness as an element in good patient care. They weren't quite sure that it was professional."²⁴ This indeterminate state exists also in the mind of the patient who has no clear expectation of nursing behavior but probably expects as a minimum

technical competence and views as an extra dividend the comforting and understanding attitude.

The expectation of the incumbent's being at the service of the doctor and doing his bidding seems to be imbedded in the status-role. The "hand-maiden" to the doctor aspect of the status-role inevitably involves rank, power, and decision making. If the nature of the relation between nurse and doctor is granted, it follows that equality or superiority on the part of the nurse status-role can scarcely be achieved. In fact the ranking of the two status-roles are linked and the nurse would suffer in rank if the doctor's rank were to deteriorate. The expectation of the incumbent's being at the service of the doctor and doing his bidding is held by all members of the health system.

The social worker status-role in the health system defines the incumbent's duties not only to the patient but to his family or immediate intimates, to sub-systems relevant to the patient, and to the community. Although the status-role of social worker in a health system has been likened to those of nurse and dietician, some important differences are obvious at once. Unlike the nurse, the social workers are not linked with doctors in close teamwork, and the nurses' prestige by association is not likely to come to them. Much of the social worker's work is done away from the arena where all the other health workers are concentrated. Hers is a work that must be done with families, with boarding homes, in the community, and with various other agencies; the intensity of the association with other health workers is consequently less. Her contacts with the patients are more diffuse and, as a consequence, less understood and appreciated by the rest of the health team. The conflicting expectations of the role are illustrated in the case in which:

a social worker opposed the doctor's recommendation that a certain elderly man be moved to a county home. This would have been medically suitable since where he was living he had to climb stairs which added to the stress on a tired heart. But the social worker knew that this old gentleman was at home in his neighborhood where he could chat with friends and roam his familiar haunts. She felt that he was being kept alive in large part by a warm human environment. So the man stayed where he was, and the doctor's medical diagnosis was discounted in favor of morale factors.²⁵

The social worker must consider the whole patient in all the social systems that are important for his life. High professional competence requires the adroit application of psychotherapy involving the establishing of initial rapport, coaxing forth a range of problems, continuing emotional support, and listening attentively without displaying disapproval or fighting back at those who are aggressive. Small wonder then that the social worker like the surgeon may exhibit "explosive outbursts."²⁶ As this status-role, which seldom exists except in the larger hospitals and not in all of them, becomes institutionalized the stress upon its incumbents may be expected to diminish.

The hospital administrator status-role defines the incumbent's duties in relation to the social system (the hospital) in which the status-role is imbedded. No organization poses the difficult administrative problems in the same form as the general hospital. The hospital administrator must rely upon the prestige and power of the governing board to obtain the necessary financial support and to establish systemic linkage between the hospital and community systems inaccessible to him. He must execute policies that involve doctors many of whom outrank him in salary, prestige, and in medical knowledge. He administers an organization which encompasses a great number of separate but related professions each of which has its own standards of performance. He must be as aware of good and progressive medical practice, technique, and equipment as he is of organizational know-how.

In a well established status-role the incumbent's training does not significantly change the nature of his function and how he perceives his job. However, administrators with medical or nursing education tend to pay much more attention to medical care than to finances. Among administrators without medical or nursing training it tends to be the reverse.²⁷ These findings and others indicate that changes have been rapid in hospital organization and suggest that further institutionalization of the status-role will be required before stability is attained.

The status-role of the sick person establishes its incumbent as a deviant. Before the physician legitimizes the status-role of patient, candidates to become incumbents may have an "unrealistic bias in the direction of confidence . . . they are motivated to underestimate the chances" of their falling ill "and may refuse to

give in."²⁸ Others may whine and demand too much attention. Therefore, legitimation of the status-role regularizing behavior suitable for recovery is important. The status-role, however, prevents organization of deviants and prevents their successfully establishing a permanent claim to legitimate deviancy. Thus a subculture of sick is avoided. Increasing rates of mental illness may not mean more social disorganization; it may be a diversion from other status-roles more dangerous to society.

Once the status-role of a sick person is established its incumbent is exempted from normal social and occupational responsibilities. In fact such exemption may be not only a right but an obligation. The sick child, for example, may not only be excused from going to school but be required to stay in bed. The sick person is not solely responsible for "pulling himself together" and getting well. He is supposed to have help. The incumbent of the status-role of the sick must, however, accept this incumbency as undesirable and want to get well. The status-role carries the further obligation to seek technically competent help. The status-role

is inherently universalistic, in that generalized objective criteria determine whether one is or is not sick, how sick, and with what kind of sickness. . . . It is also functionally specific, confined to the sphere of health, and particular "complaints" and disabilities within that sphere. It is furthermore affectively neutral in orientation in that the expected behavior "trying to get well" is focused on an objective problem not on the cathectic significance of persons, or orientations to any emotionally disturbing problem, though this may be instrumentally and otherwise involved.²⁹

The status-role of the sick is perceivable, of course, not only to the members of the professional health team, but also to the family, the community, and to the sub-systems relevant to the patient. His illness does not long elicit the help of neighbors and friends if he does not remain in the proper status-role.

The status-role of the advanced convalescent or of the not fully recoverable patient whose state is unperceivable is more anomalous. The child with the slightly damaged heart who is supposed to restrict his activity appears "normal" but acts deviantly in his restricted activity. The individual with arrested

tuberculosis appears normal but acts deviantly when he rests each afternoon or leaves the party early. These individuals are visible by their deviance but invisible as "patients," and society exerts every pressure on them to relinquish their deviancy. In this twilight zone of illness or arrested illness, the status-roles and the norms supporting them are poorly defined. The ex-patient must either proclaim his weakness at every turn or succumb to social pressure and over-extend himself into the more acceptable state of the visibly and perhaps permanently sick. It is interesting to note that this most anomalous of the sick—the convalescent or the arrested case—falls to the lot of the most anomalous of the health team—the medical social worker. These so-called "follow-ups" make up a large part of her case-load, and she as often as possible checks up on the suitability of their occupations, their habitations, their styles of life in relation to their threatening illnesses; insofar as the doctor, the nurse, and the hospital administrator are concerned, these cases are virtually, though not actually, closed.

CONTROLLING

Power as an element. As Parsons has observed, the "doctor's orders" kind of authority can only be operative in the social system of the "community of fate" or collectivity-oriented type as exemplified by the physician-patient relation. This type of power stands in contrast to that of a bureaucratic-legalistic controlled social organization generally considered congenial to social systems composed of scientifically trained status-roles. The objection to bureaucratization and particularly to "lay control" is related to the physician's desire not to experience interference or evaluation as he practices. This is of particular interest since the universities at which the physicians train are under lay control. Although other professional health status-roles lay claim to some aspects of power, by and large power belongs to the doctor. If "doctor's orders" are not followed, the physician may withdraw from a case. Not even a crisis in a hospital situation can elicit for the patient any kind of treatment over and above "doctor's orders." Something of the unique structure of hospital organization was suggested in the discussion of the status-role of the hospital administrator. The pervasive influence of doctors is largely responsible for the administrative uniqueness of hospitals. The

sub-systems within a hospital are subject to the authority of the administration, but are also subject to the influence of the doctors. Caudill quotes a medical director of one hospital as saying, "I am in charge of professional services, although that's a bad joke, I don't know how I can be in charge of them when I have no control over pay, budget, personnel, or anything else."³⁰ A pathologist is quoted as saying, "My girls in the laboratory have one trouble, every doctor in the hospital is their boss."³¹ Not only is the hospital different from industrial concerns in having "duo-control" but the actual production in industry is carried out by workers with relatively little authority whereas the main output of work in hospitals is by doctors with great authority. Hospitals, more than industrial concerns, probably have more interpersonal tensions, interdepartmental conflicts and amorphous structure characterized by lack of well-defined status-roles and areas of authority and responsibility.³²

The social system comprised of doctor-patient status-roles is articulated intermittently as the patient needs the doctor, during which time he is expected to follow the doctor's orders and hold relatively little power. He always has the power, however, under normal situations, to terminate the relation, although norms demand that the termination follow a prescribed pattern. Despite the normative standards which dictate the method of release from the patient status-role, it is not uncommon for patients to yield to motivations they consider more compelling than "getting well." They have been known to walk out of hospitals under the urgency of family crises or to quit the prescribed treatment in long drawn out illnesses and thus, in effect, defy the authority of the physician. In the physician-patient relation the authority of the physician is in this sense patient-sanctioned. Since few non-doctors have the judgment necessary to choose a doctor by applying universal standards of achievement, they depend for the most part on the recommendations of friends. This means that each patient has the potential power of influence, the principal effect of which is to recruit new patients for the physician. Ideally, neither the behavior of the doctor nor that of the patient is altered by this aspect of power held by the patient.

Decision making and initiation into action as process. Except in emergencies such as those accompanying disaster the initial

steps leading to action are taken by the patient as he decides that he needs medical advice and initiates action toward the doctor of his choice. Such decision and initiation of action takes place before the social system under examination here has come into being; it is properly the initial stage of possible systemic linkage. Once the patient and the doctor have assumed those status-roles in relation to each other most of the decision making and its initiation emanates from the doctor. The more imperative the case, in the estimation of the physician, the more unequivocal the decision is likely to be. In a crisis situation the doctor literally "takes over," both making decisions and proceeding to act upon them with little or no consultation with the patient. It is assumed that the doctor knows what should be done and the patient does not. In more chronic situations in which a course of action is not clearly indicated the alternatives and their possible outcomes are frequently described to the patient who makes a decision based almost entirely on the facts as presented by the doctor. The kinds of decisions which emanate from the doctor in the first case and from the patient in the second articulate the kind of power each one possesses. The doctor possesses authority based upon superior technical knowledge; when this is clearly called for, the decision is his. The patient possesses the power of terminating the relation; when this is one of the alternatives, as when "doing nothing about the condition" is one of the choices, the decision is the patient's.

Once the social system has been broadened by the decision to add other status-roles to the health team the patient is rendered almost powerless to change the course of action. He soon feels like an automaton as he is "processed" through the clinic or through the hospital. He decides very little and initiates almost no action.³³

RANKING

Rank as an element. The factors which appear as important in contributing high prestige to occupations are highly specialized training and responsibility for public welfare.³⁴ The occupation of physician is heavily weighted by both factors and is accorded correspondingly high prestige. Popular ranking according to one study placed the state governor and the physician very high, the U. S. Supreme Court Justice being the only occupation ranked

higher. The dentist was given seventeenth place, the psychologist was put in twenty-second place, and the biologist was ranked as twenty-ninth. Other studies consistently show doctors being ranked toward the top of the scale and other health personnel, with the possible exception of the hospital administrator and state and national directors of public health departments, ranking considerably lower.³⁵ Among doctors, Merton found, internists and surgeons are commonly assigned higher standing than, say, obstetricians and psychiatrists.³⁶

A distinctive feature about ranking in hospitals is a "system of discrete and mobility-blocked levels within which the consciousness of status is at a maximum. Unlike almost any other organization for work in our society, a hospital permits of little upward movement—no service worker can become a technician, no technician can become a nurse, and no nurse can become a doctor."³⁷

The status-role of patient is accorded high rank insofar as it affords a learning experience in a not too common disease or otherwise presents a challenge to one or all of the health team. Patient ranking is quite independent of social rank in other contexts. The "defrosting" of a young woman was an exciting case in a Chicago hospital after her frozen, almost lifeless, and very intoxicated body was found in an alley. Many of the unsavory circumstances of her plight suggested that her status-role as patient far outranked her status-role as citizen. A patient status-role is accorded low rank when there is an attempt to establish an organic basis for what turns out to be psychosomatic or functional. Dr. Peabody tells of the patient suffering from nausea and abdominal discomfort who is:

... given a test meal, gastric analysis and duodenal intubation, and roentgen-ray examinations. . . . All of these diagnostic methods give negative results; that is, they do not show evidence of any structural change. The case immediately becomes much less interesting than if it had turned out to be gastric ulcer with atypical symptoms. The visiting physician walks by and says, "Well, there's nothing the matter with her." The clinical clerk says, "I did an awful lot of work on that case and it turned out to be nothing at all." The intern, who wants to clear out the ward so as to make room for some interesting cases, says, "Mrs. Brown, you can send for your clothes and go home tomorrow. There really is nothing the matter with you. . . ."³⁸

Mrs. Brown, who might enjoy high rank outside the hospital, as a patient ranks very low indeed.

Evaluation as a process in ranking and allocation of status-role. In few professions is it more necessary than in the medical profession to specify the system for which a given rank applies and the subject making the ranking. Parsons has observed:

... the great majority of laymen think that *their* physician is either the best or one of the few best in his field in the community. It is manifestly impossible for the majority of such judgments to be objectively correct.³⁹

Among physician colleagues in a given community there grows up a system of ranks which is not available to the lay public. This ranking system furnishes the rewards of the internal pattern for the medical system.

We cannot know for certain; but I suspect that, aside from the alleviation of suffering, the strongest impulse which moves the physician is the professional motive of winning the esteem of his fellows.⁴⁰

Nevertheless there are in many communities doctors who make extremely good livings whose practices would certainly fall off if their performance as evaluated by colleagues were known to the general public. Because of professional ethics, doctors who among themselves may condemn the practice of a given colleague are not at liberty to communicate the rank and the basis for it to the lay public. Many hospital systems maintain self-imposed standards by a constant process of evaluating the work of all operating physicians; specimens of tissue from each operation performed in the hospital are subjected to the scrutiny of hospital-employed pathologists whose findings are reported to the medical staff. This evaluative process, which inevitably leads to colleague ranking, is of course not made public.

The forces that lead individual actors to enter training and become incumbents of various status-roles in health practice are many. In one study half of the medical students were found to have had relatives who were doctors, a larger proportion having relatives in the identical profession than was true of students studying to become lawyers, dentists, and clergymen. When the students studying medicine and law were asked, "Can you think

of a doctor (lawyer) who in your opinion comes close to being an ideal doctor (lawyer)?", 68 per cent of those in medicine but only 43 per cent of the lawyers named such a person. This is taken as indicating the greater importance of role-models in medicine than in law.⁴¹ Findings also indicate that medical students decide on their careers earlier than law students do.

SANCTIONING

Sanction as an element. For the physician the positive sanctions include professional recognition by election to prestigious positions in the various levels of the medical associations, appointments of varying magnitudes to hospital staffs, and selection by elect groups as members or fellows. They also include economic rewards, and in this respect they present an interesting political overtone. With economic reward as a direct and usual result of achievement in an achievement-oriented society there is support for "private medicine" as opposed to "socialized medicine." The latter seems to thrive better in such particularistic-ascribed cultures as those in Latin America where the pattern of reward is less likely to be economic and more likely to be political. This is only relative, however, because the *Gesellschaft*-like bureaucracies—which through training, examinations, research, and other activities make western medical care possible—are in large measure "socialized." The negative sanctions for the physician range from the low esteem of colleagues to expulsion from the status-role.

The sanctions that exist for patients on the positive side are help in getting out of the status-role of patient—sympathy, support and understanding. On the negative side, they are the withdrawal of these supportive measures ("denial of reciprocity and manipulation of rewards" in Parsonian terms) if the patient shows signs of wanting to remain sick.

Application of sanctions as process. The negative sanctions for doctors who fail to conform to the norms of the profession are seldom applied. When applied they are almost entirely meted out by the profession and for the most part independently of lay control. Physicians are reluctant to testify against other physicians in cases of malpractice and resist bringing formal action against colleagues in their own associations. As one physician put

it, "Who is going to throw the first stone? We are all vulnerable. We have all been in situations where what we did could be made to look very bad." ⁴² Positive sanctions for medical practitioners are meted out in the separate professional associations as for other organized groups.

When we recall that the typical health sentiments of the Anglo pattern include the near negation of pain and death, the inhibition of grief, and the maximizing of hopefulness and optimism, it is not hard to understand that negative sanctions are employed on those who "ail too much"—those who seem to malinger, who can't throw off the status-role of patient. This is of course only relatively true. The individual in great pain and dying of a dread and respected disease is certainly not actively punished; he may receive help and sympathy. However, he tends to become more and more disassociated and left to himself as his illness lingers. If colleagues believe that a patient could get well faster than he is, they tend to criticize him as well as to leave him alone. There are also some diseases, states, and conditions among the patient status-roles that have more onus than others. Despite the strides made in public understanding of mental health and its problems, the mentally ill do not generally have the sympathetic understanding and loving care that so often is given the physically ill. Neither are the delirium tremens patient and the venereal disease patient able to bask in public sympathy. The patient who, against terrific odds, overcomes a weak and spindly body and achieves robust health, on the other hand, is greatly admired in the United States as almost every biography of Theodore Roosevelt will attest. There are, nevertheless people who make tremendous personal struggles against crippling or disabling diseases who are still too deviant for the general populace to reward.

FACILITATING

Facility as an element.

Modern medicine . . . demands a vast armamentarium of medical equipment which requires substantial original capital to purchase and sizeable current expenditures to operate. The day is past when one doctor could command all the physical resources essential for the practice of medicine.⁴³

One doctor cannot hope to have access to all facilities; but few hospitals display the whole range of diagnostic and therapeutic devices. In addition, the whole apparatus for preventive medicine is facility based. The havoc played with a community's facilities during earthquake, flood, or fire is as threatening to life as the disaster itself. Pure water and adequate sewage disposal are health facilities as are hospitals, hospital beds, and all the tremendous apparatus for diagnosis and treatment which make up modern medicine.

Utilization of facilities as process. The functionally conceived, immaculately clean, orderly atmosphere of the modern hospital affects people in different ways. They may give the Anglo middle class patient confidence. The same features may make the Spanish-speaking patient of the lower classes of the Southwest anxious or afraid, and may affect others of expressive cultures adversely.⁴⁴ The East Indian, with food imperatives which demand that it be prepared as dictated by his caste, would be affectively disturbed by food prepared in a general kitchen, for example. An ideal utilization of facilities takes into account their cathetic as well as their physical effects. The mother-baby arrangements whereby housing and care for the baby is provided in the mother's room is one example of facility utilization in this direction.⁴⁵

The medical and sociological consequences of the utilization of another facility are still indeterminate. It is the tendency toward over-use of the "cure-all" kind of drug. A nationally prominent physician remarked to the senior author, who at that time was studying innovations in under-developed countries, "As long as you're studying how to *introduce* medical facilities, you might try to find out how to *terminate* their use. The extent of the health hazard presented by thousands of physicians all over the country pumping thousands of ampules of penicillin and other wonder drugs into every patient who comes their way is not known except that it is very great. How to get them to stop it is the problem." He made a similar case for the promiscuous use of x-ray. Sociologically, if the practice continues, the consequences will be revealed in a change in the structuring of the status-role of the physician. Diagnosis will be much less important and functional specificity of treatment will be blurred.

A condition of facility utilization which profoundly affects the

fulfillment of a belief-objective-norm constellation related to equality of opportunity and which operates in conflict with that constellation is summed up in the caption "medical facilities follow the dollar."⁴⁶ A wealth of documented material shows that low-income groups have much more sickness than well-to-do people, and that there are fewer facilities available to them. In general the utilization of facilities is positively correlated with per capita income, educational level and urbanization.⁴⁷

COMPREHENSIVE OR MASTER PROCESSES

Communication. Attention will be focused in this section on those aspects of communication within health systems which are unique to such systems or have special pertinence to them.

1) The inability of the untrained person to understand what the doctor is talking about. The following story shows the level of communication which a doctor had to use to persuade a young man that he should have his appendix removed.

"Do you know what acute appendicitis is?" he asked. "No," replied Jim. "Well, I'm going to tell you. Do you know what a boil is?" "Yes." "Well, you've got a boil bigger than you have ever seen inside you where your belly aches. It's different from a boil because the sore part is sticking toward your insides, not toward the outside. That boil is ready to break and when it does it's going to be too bad for you. The pus is going to come out inside of you. You have to have the whole boil removed before it breaks or it's going to be the end of you."⁴⁸

Koos studied the relation between satisfaction with medical service and communication as related to class in a New York state village and its hinterland containing some 2,500 households. Three classes were delineated: Class I, business and professional; Class II, skilled and semi-skilled workers, farm owners, and tenants; and Class III, laborers, including farm laborers. He reported that more dissatisfaction with doctors' treatment was expressed by Class II than by Class I respondents, and even more by Class III respondents.

The total impression gained from the questioning was that much of the dissatisfaction resulted from a lack of communication between the physician and his patient. Part of this lack was due, no doubt, to the

fact that physician and patient too often represent differing subcultures, and "speak different languages." The practice of medicine in Regionville, as elsewhere, was a recondite science (and art), and some of these differences were undoubtedly unavoidable. It appeared, however, that some of the "scientific distance" between patient and physician was artificial, and could be reduced.⁴⁹

2) The inadvisability of communicating fully to the patient when the full knowledge of his condition would worry a patient, retard his recovery, or rob him of peace of mind in the case of an incurable illness. How much is communicated and in what manner is a problem here as was indicated above under *evaluation* as a process. Also the use of an intermediary communicator, perhaps a member of the patient's family, is common.

3) The different specialties, skills and services which are all equally a part of hospital care can easily foster distinct sub-groups between whom communication barriers develop. Interpersonal understanding in the following instance facilitated effective communication.

The Sisters held the belief that it was good spiritual discipline for each of them to do all kinds of work. For this reason a Sister in charge of the most exclusive private floor might find herself suddenly transferred to laundry. Another, trained in physiotherapy, might be placed in charge of the drug room. Whatever disadvantages this had . . . they developed an institutional rather than a departmental, loyalty. . . . The Sisters had similar training, including education in administration. They talked the same language.⁵⁰

4) The ease of calling the doctor or rushing to the hospital made possible by modern communication facilities is a factor that helps to determine the pressure on health facilities. In contrast is the community with no modern communication facilities.

In those days there were no telephones. Neighbors knew by the grapevine message when the doctor had been called to one of their number and if members of their families needed a doctor they hung a sheet on some conspicuous object. If it was at night a lantern was hung up. I knew these signals and answered the call. I remember that one trip I visited seven patients in addition to the one for whom I was originally called.⁵¹

5) Something of the breadth of the communication process in health systems is suggested by the items found indexed under "communication" in a book on hospitals. They are enumerated here but not elaborated because frequently the items noted are the communicative aspects of systemic elements or elemental processes treated elsewhere in this essay: a) Communication needs in the hospital; b) administrative team helps answer need; c) bureaucratic controls result in need for better communication; d) case history of integration in religious hospitals; e) clearly defined power aids communication; f) common understandings achieved through staff meetings; g) communication across departmental lines; h) communication difficulties arise with specialization; i) growth of group education contributes to communication, and group meetings with discussion rights. In organizations undergoing change as rapidly as hospitals certainly breakdowns and faulty communication are common.

Boundary Maintenance. The health professions share with other professional groups a proprietary interest in a few highly specialized tasks which the professional is eminently fitted to do by training. A few examples will illustrate that such an interest is actually a boundary maintenance device. The field of drugs, for example, can be properly viewed as one which "belongs" to the bio-chemist who often develops the drug, to the pharmaceutical house which devises means of mass manufacture, to the druggist who compounds it upon the physician's orders, and to the physician who prescribes its use. Nevertheless the boundaries of activity in respect to the drug is clearly established in accordance with this division of labor in the United States and by other specialty of function elsewhere.⁵² In the United States no one but the doctor prescribes, although it would be within the realm of possibility that a druggist recognizes when adrenalin or insulin is indicated—or penicillin or codein. On the other hand the physician would not prepare his patient's medicines. He would leave that job to the druggist. Nurses aides are being trained in increasing numbers to relieve the pressure on the registered nurses. Although there is much in practical nursing that the nurses aides do there are clear-cut duties which the registered nurses reserve for themselves.

An illustrative case of boundary maintenance is the following

in which the doctor and the social worker tangle for "rights" to certain duties. The social worker relates:

I was bringing Dr. Koop up to date on the Darnley case today. You remember, that was the case of the child who was left entirely without relatives when his mother died last month—she was Dr. Koop's case. I've made tentative arrangements with a family very much like the Darnley family to adopt the child. The prospective foster-father is a factory worker just as Mr. Darnley was and they have such love and common sense and good values to give a child. By luck, they belong to the same church too. Do you know what that Dr. Koop said? He said that it was too bad I hadn't talked to him before I had gone this far with the arrangements because he knew of a family who so badly wanted a child and they had *everything*—money, background, money, family, money, a wonderful house, money, money, MONEY. And before I knew it I lost my temper and was telling him a thing or two about good adoption policies. I said a lot but the gist of it was that I would not think of doing his doctoring for him and that I'd thank him to leave the social work to me.

Despite the boundaries that are thrown around certain areas of work by the different members of the health team, a common boundary separates all the health team from the patient. Although the patient may compose a social system with any or all of the health specialists, he cannot expect to discover what the x-rays reveal from either the x-ray technician or from the roentgenologist; the nurse does not tell him his temperature, the laboratory technician does not divulge the state of his blood. Although the patient is the *raison d'être* of the whole structure he knows very little of what is transpiring. Some of the boundary maintenance devices which operate for the patient—both to prevent his slipping too easily into the status-role and to hurry him out of it as expeditiously as possible—have been discussed elsewhere.

Then there are the boundaries maintained against all those with somewhat different approaches to the problem of illness or defects who also would like to be among the healers. Powerful lobbies are maintained at both the national and state levels to protect the public against quackery and to protect the medical profession against the inroads of individuals trained in a tradition different than that of the doctor of medicine. Different states have quite different laws concerning the rights and privileges of such

groups as chiropractors, osteopaths, and osteopathic physicians, chiropodists, optometrists, and others. Some years ago a new method of physical therapy, which had much claimed for it abroad was introduced to the United States. The violent attack which met its introduction here in light of its success abroad suggests that its rejection was at least in part a boundary maintenance. The utterance of a staff member of one of the great medical schools is typical: "There is much in this method that is good; what is good is not new. There is much in this method that is new; what is new is not good." In boundary maintenance there are devices that protect the public in matters beyond its own ability to judge, but also the device that jealously guards the old and denies the new and the device that smacks of monopoly. But it is the hypothesis of the author that the prestige of occupation is less determined by "public relations activities" and certain extreme kinds of boundary maintenance, and more by the effectiveness of codes of ethics and norms in articulating selfless service for the welfare of society. According to this thesis, members of social systems with high morale and great solidarity require less protection from outside than others.

Systemic linkage. As the various health specialists perform as a team they represent a systemic linkage of sub-systems. So does the family of the patient who becomes linked for a while to the health professionals.⁵³

The list of systems that occasionally are separate systems, but that are sometimes linked with others in single action could be extended indefinitely. For the purposes of this discussion attention is focused on the systemic linkage which takes place under the guidance of two status-role incumbents, the medical social worker and the hospital administrator. The medical social worker as much as any other health worker and more than most workers, links the health system with which she is chiefly connected with a network of other systems. The patient's family, his neighborhood, his place of occupation, and his school are as a matter of course linked to the immediate health units dealing with the patient. Often the medical social worker also links them both to community organizations as in the case of special fund-raising for an expensive operation, and to out-of-town organizations as when the patient has further work done by specialists in

a large center with many specialties. Other agencies representing various community resources that might not become involved in health care were it not for the social worker's initiation do so become involved and are thus systemically linked. By virtue of the social worker's initiation of linkage such resources as rehabilitation and recreational programs, home nursing care, child care centers and agencies which can render certain kinds of financial aid become accessible to the patient.

Perhaps not so extensive, but certainly no less important are the community links which a good hospital administrator must maintain. If the hospital is privately supported continued access to support from philanthropists and the cultivation of new avenues of support are the constant ambition of the administrator as well as of the board of directors, who are often chosen because of access to financial support. If the hospital is publicly supported the administrator and his board must be more circumspect in their attempts to maintain adequate support, but must also be active in knowing the machinations of politics and the effectiveness of interested pressure groups. They must maintain a keen watch for bills which might jeopardize the program and on many other matters each of which is a link with a different social system.

Of an entirely different order of systemic linkage is that voluntary concerted action which is taken by health workers of a particular area. Hospitals in particular have of late developed a pattern of regional cooperation, particularly in metropolitan areas or in geographic regions that have a ready identity. It may be for training personnel or for setting up certain standards and seeing that they are maintained or for the common solution of peculiarly regional problems.

Hospitals change and frequently need more adequate linkage to the communities in which they operate. Likewise communities change and this in turn changes the hospital patronage and support. A case in point is the 240 bed Salem Hospital in Massachusetts. It was "founded, supported, and controlled by the Yankees of Salem. All aspects of its existence were under Yankee control and direction."⁵⁴ Appropriate as this might have been during the Yankee hey-day in Salem, in time the relative dominance of the Yankees decreased and there was a rise in the prominence and dominance of other ethnic groups including the Irish, Italian,

Polish, and French. The community had changed in composition long before the hospital changed. Finally, under pressure from the rising ethnic groups, non-Yankees were elected to the Board of Trustees and non-Yankees were admitted as staff physicians. Although the hospital was slowly but gradually improving its systemic linkage with the community, 20 per cent of the physicians in the community were still excluded from the hospital. Despite their high visibility and the public's expectations of leadership, physicians do not actively engage in the affairs of the community to any great extent.⁵⁵

There appear to be great differences in the manner in which health services are linked to various systems in the community. In projects requiring large sums of money, such as obtaining hospitals, the linkage is usually with important business men and their organizations. In getting local health departments the business and executive forces of communities are not in the vanguard. Rather housewives and professional workers operating through councils and committees take the lead.⁵⁶ Systemic linkage of various sectors of a community may be performed by a health council. Upon the death of such a formal organization or in its absence such linkage may be performed by informal organization and relations.⁵⁷

Institutionalization. Conspicuous in the preceding pages are the highly institutionalized practices of health groups in which the expectations of all parties who constitute the system are more or less fulfilled. Because of ambiguities due to imperfect institutionalization, there are certain health practices that are fraught with stress; no one knows exactly how he should behave or how the other party in the situation will behave. Some of these have already been elaborated and here they will only be given in summary. Others seem to be taking a tentative direction in the process of institutionalization; when such direction is observable it will be so indicated.

There are some unique stresses revolving around the hospital with its exceptional structure of personnel arrayed in mutually exclusive hierarchical pyramids and its authority lodged in status-roles which are in some respects of a rank inferior to those status-roles lacking hierarchical authority. Chief among the stressful

status-roles are the nurse, especially the head nurse, and the hospital administrator.

The condition of specialization within the medical profession produces many stresses; interrelations and practices concomitant with specialization are imperfectly institutionalized. "Multiple practice is affecting a virtual revolution in medicine because of the fragmentation in responsibility that goes with it. . ." ⁵⁸ Jeopardized by the fragmentation is the *Gemeinschaft*-like relation between doctor and patient, the problem of the patient in getting to the right specialist, and the problem of the medical profession in how to bill the patient.

Two other sources of stress, characteristic of the larger society rather than of the medical profession itself, will here be noted. One is the importance of manpower in the struggle for power among the nations of the world. This coupled with the high value placed upon individual life makes much more understandable the stake the nation as a social unit holds in the health and well-being of its populace. There were 17,000,000 adult males examined by the Selective Service System between 1940 and 1945. Rejection rates for the United States per 100 registrants were as high as one-fourth for all except students. For many occupations, such as farmers and farm managers, it was over one-half.⁵⁹ The allocation of medical skills in the past has been in terms of economic resources available to pay for them. The emergence of the United States as a world power, consciously assessing its resources of which one of the most important is manpower, no doubt spells a need for a re-institutionalizing of the allocation of medical resources.

The second source of stress characteristic of the nation as a whole rather than of the medical profession, is the long and hard scrutiny of medical practice and the mass media reporting of the findings to an always interested public. The result is that the public in most of those parts of the western world in which private practice is still dominant now continually hears of its shortcomings. "Theoretically, from 25 to 50 per cent of the annual deaths in the United States could be 'prevented' if the health of the entire nation could be made as good as that of the best state." ⁶⁰ Thus with only a fraction of the expenditures which go for armaments or foreign aid, it is argued, more lives could be saved in

one year than are lost in some wars. Such value laden arguments are bound sooner or later to have their impact on the commonly held values in society. It is with design that grouped together here are 1) the condition of specialization among the medics and its attendant problems, 2) the nation's emphasis upon manpower and its importance in the struggle for power among nations, and 3) the vast publicity accompanying the examination of the health system and how it operates, and the public realization of some of its shortcomings. All three present conditions of change that must somehow be institutionalized before the attendant stresses can be relieved.

The discerning reader may sense a directional character of the institutionalization that is sure to come. The same facts may be stated in a somewhat different way and to some may suggest a conditional linkage to the socialized medicine debate which has been with the nation for at least a decade. From the viewpoint of society at large manpower has suddenly become very important—important enough that, taken on a large scale, an individual's health is the concern of the society as well as of his family and his neighborhood. Preventive and prophylactic medicine coupled with health-linked standards of living present a picture of enormous contrast between the state with the highest score and the state with the lowest. From society's viewpoint, the argument would run, the provision of a high quality medical care to all the people would save many lives now lost, would provide the nation with manpower far superior to that presently displayed.

But, the counter-argument runs, socialized medicine with an assigned physician would destroy the intimate relation which exists between patient and doctor. "What intimate relation?", the opponent asks. "The intimate relation enjoyed by the patient as he consults the unknown specialist who is one of every three doctors?" However conjectural this might be, it is certain that the tremendous increase in the interest in socialized medicine is not unrelated to the three unresolved sources of stress here elaborated. It is also certain that some kind of institutionalization will take place, thereby reducing the stress until new changes come about which in turn require re-institutionalization. Since stress usually accompanies different sets of expectations and conflicting points of view it is obvious that some values will have to tumble as a

system passes from an unstructured period of stress to one of relative institutionalization. Such a period regarding the present sources of strain may not be different from the battles which raged in the field of public health in earlier times. Now if any group sought to prevent the operation of such processes as forced vaccination and quarantine of victims of a virulent smallpox epidemic there would be as great turmoil as there was earlier when these same processes became legitimized and accepted. The security basic to rational action and the institutionalization of processes now as then are reciprocal.

Socialization. Preparation for service in the medical arts on the part of student physicians, student nurses, hospital administrators, medical social workers, and many others involves "learning the professional role . . . by so combining its component knowledge and skills, attitudes, and values, as to be motivated and able to perform this role in a professionally and socially acceptable fashion."⁶¹ In terms of the conceptual scheme used in the PAS Model, this means simply the process of learning to play these status-roles in pertinent social systems in accordance with the prevailing norms. Such a learning process involves all the elements and their elemental processes as well as the master processes pertinent to the specific social systems in which the status-role will function or to which it will be linked.

Some aspects of the socialization process by which the incumbent is readied for the performance of his status-role are reinforcements of the internalized norms prevalent in the general society. For example the sympathy and understanding which the physician must extend to the patient and his relatives may be an extension of a sentiment pattern already internalized by the time the status-role of student-physician is assumed. Other aspects of the socialization process for the new status-role involve "unlearning" or the neutralization of previously internalized norms prevalent in the general society. The affective neutrality and the functional specificity which must temper the physician's sympathetic interest in his patient, for example, may represent a departure from a previously internalized sentiment constellation. The sentiments of normal Americans toward corpses, dissected and bleeding parts of the human body, excrement, sex organs, particularly of the opposite sex, and other "sacred" areas must

be unlearned and replaced by attitudes appropriate to the new status-role. Likewise, special moral principles or *ethics* must be internalized in a manner which makes their control over actions sufficiently effective to govern the behavior not only of the incumbent of the physician status-role (or other health team status-role) but also to influence the behavior of the lay person who from time to time is involved in interaction within the health social system.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Territoriality. Health systems share with a good many other social systems the tendency to become increasingly scarce and decreasingly well-supported as population becomes more sparse. Other aspects of territoriality which concern health systems are of sufficient interest that they will be enumerated and briefly commented upon. 1) There is a strong tendency for medical college graduates to practice medicine in the same sized population category as that from which they came.⁶² To encourage more youth from small towns and rural places to attend medical school is frequently suggested as a means of more nearly equalizing the distribution of health systems. Although the suggestion has some merit, it probably overlooks the equally important consideration that the cost of a medical education necessarily means that prospective doctors are recruited in large measure from the two per cent of the population with highest incomes.⁶³ These two per cent are for the most part urban dwellers. 2) Whereas a number of other collectivities confine their targets within a political boundary (the school systems of the United States, for example, can ignore for the most part the educational problems existing "next door" in Mexico or in Canada), the target of the health system—disease—knows no boundaries. Whether it is a nation preparing for the onslaught of Asiatic influenza or a community hospital preparing for the admission of patients who live outside the community boundaries, the lack of territorial confinement of disease is an important health factor. 3) Within a nation there are regional differences in the kind of disease that prevails and the strength of the health systems in combatting the disease. 4) There are even greater differences in the kind of disease that prevails from one part of the world to another and very great inequal-

ity in the ability of the members of health systems to combat the disease. The essentially rural under-developed areas of the world, as designated by a United States Department of State publication,⁶⁴ have only 17 physicians per 100,000 population and an average life expectancy of 30 years as compared with the developed areas where there are 106 physicians per 100,000 population and the average life expectancy is 63 years. Where one lives affects his ability to ward off disease, the nature of the illnesses he will be subject to, and the quality and quantity of treatment for his condition.

NOTES

1. *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951), Vol. 1, p. 7.

2. Even within one culture, social systems devoted to health vary greatly. Some indication of the variation to be found within the United States is suggested by the following, which contain good bibliographies and suggested research areas: Howard E. Freeman and Leo G. Reeder, "Medical Sociology: A review of the Literature," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, Feb. 1957, p. 73ff.; William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," A. L. Kroeber, ed., *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, c1953), pp. 771ff.; Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954); Ivan Belknap, *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956); Henry B. Richardson, *Patients Have Families* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1948); Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital* (New York: Basic Books, 1954); Fredrick D. Mott and Milton I. Roemer, *Rural Health and Medical Care* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948); C. R. Hoffer, D. L. Gibson, C. P. Loomis, P. A. Miller, E. A. Schuler and J. F. Thaden, *Health Needs and Health Care in Michigan*, "Ag. Exp. Sta. Spec. Bul. 365, 1950."

3. Cora Du Bois, "The Dominant Value Profile of American Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 57, Part 1, No. 6, Dec. 1955, pp. 123ff.

4. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 373.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 446.

6. Some of these same beliefs prevail among the Spanish-speaking people of America's southwest. See Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954); and Lyle Saunders and Julian Samora, "Medical Care Program in a Colorado County," Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture and Community* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955), Part V, No. 14.

7. Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

8. George Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology: A Public Health Program Analysis," *Human Organization*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Fall, 1952, p. 8.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 8ff. See also Wilson Longmore and Charles P. Loomis, "Health Needs and Potential Colonization Areas of Peru," in Lyle W. Shannon (ed.), *Under Developed Areas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 174ff.
10. Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 373.
11. Lyle Saunders, *op. cit.*, Ch. 4. See also J. O. Morales, Nevin Scrimshaw, and Antonio Arce, "Health Systems," in Charles P. Loomis, *et al.* (eds.), *Turrialba—Social Systems and the Introduction of Change* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), ch. 6.
12. Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 438.
13. Talcott Parsons, *Economy and Society: A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 34.
14. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 466.
15. Numerous studies substantiate these different expressive patterns. Among those used as a base for the brief summary here given are Lawrence K. Frank, "The Promotion of Mental Health," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1953, p. 170; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 468; William Caudill, *op. cit.*, p. 777; Mark Zborowski, "Cultural Components in Responses to Pain," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1952.
16. Robert K. Merton, "The Preliminaries to a Sociology of Medical Education," Robert K. Merton, *et al.*, ed., *The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 75.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
18. T. Fitts, Jr., and Barbara Fitts, "Ethical Standards of the Medical Profession," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 297, Jan. 1955, pp. 26-28.
19. Walton H. Hamilton, *Medical Care for the American People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
20. *Ibid.*
21. L. J. Henderson, "Lectures in Sociology, The Study of Man," *Transactions of the Association of American Physicians*, 1936.
22. Important items are mentioned in Caudill, *op. cit.*, p. 782 and Freeman and Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
23. Oswald Hall, "Types of Medical Careers," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 55, No. 3, Nov. 1949, pp. 243ff.
24. Temple Burling, *et al.*, *The Give and Take in Hospitals: A Study of Human Organization in Hospitals* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, c1956), p. 105.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
27. Charles E. Prall, *Problems of Hospital Administration* (Chicago: Physician's Record Co., 1948).
28. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 438.
30. William Caudill, *op. cit.*, p. 783.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 784.
32. Harvey Smith, "Sociological Study of Hospitals," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

33. Of special interest to the sociologist is decision making when there is disagreement between physicians. Even mental patients participate in this as proven by increased agitation and dissociation behavior, the only manner of expression open to them in a mental ward. "The sudden cessation of excitement following any resolution of the split" proves that such patients are involved. See Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, "Observations on Dissociation as Social Participation," *Psychiatry*, Vol. 12, pp. 339-354. Studies of decision making on wards in tuberculosis sanitariums are under way by the U. S. Public Health Service.

34. Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in *Sociological Analysis* by Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949), p. 464.

35. Among the studies substantiating these findings are *Youth and the World of Work* (East Lansing: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1949), p. 67 and W. Lloyd Warner, *et al.*, *Social Class in America* (Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), pp. 140, 141, and 165.

36. Robert K. Merton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

37. Harvey Smith, as reported in William Caudill, *op. cit.*, p. 784.

38. Francis W. Peabody, *The Care of the Patient* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927).

39. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

40. Walton H. Hamilton, *op. cit.*

41. Wagner Thielen, Jr., "Some Comparisons of Entrants to Medical and Law School"; and Robert K. Merton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

42. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 471. For an excellent discussion of norms and sanctions in the medical profession see William T. Fitts, Jr. and Barbara Fitts, *op. cit.*

43. Dean A. Clark and Cozette Hapney, "Group Practice," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 273, Jan. 1951, p. 43.

44. Lyle Saunders, *op. cit.*

45. Facility utilization must be adjusted to beliefs as well as to sentiments. "In places where malaria is understood to result from the presence of mosquitoes of a certain type, fairly standard methods may suffice for the development of programs; however, where it is thought to be due to chills after one has been perspiring, it may be necessary to use more complicated techniques." The need for modification of facility utilization and the assistance the anthropologist can give such a program of modification is suggested by Richard N. Adams, "On the Effective Use of Anthropology in Public Health Programs," *Human Organization*, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 7.

46. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 721.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 721ff.

48. The statement was made to the senior author by a ranking health official in one of the great research foundations. The official had just read a document prepared by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University. This document which prompted this story was later published as "The Patient-Doctor Relationship," Cecil G. Sheps and Eugene E. Taylor, *Needed Research in Health and Medical Care: A Bio-*

social Approach (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c1954), p. 194ff.

49. Earl Lomon Koos, *The Health of Regionville* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), p. 77.

50. Temple Burling, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

51. Arthur E. Hertzler, *The Horse and Buggy Doctor* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1938), p. 78.

52. Thelma H. McCormack, "The Druggist's Dilemma," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 61, Jan. 1956, pp. 308ff.

53. Parsons and Fox advance the thesis that the present day conjugal family, isolated as it is from extended family members, bears an emotional overload which used to be distributed over a much wider range of family members. Since the normal family interaction comes close to putting as much emotional pressure on its members as can safely be endured, in times of crises such as illness, it is natural that an impersonal, bureaucratized system such as the hospital should take over the function of caring for the sick previously performed by the family. In other words, the kind of society that flourishes in the United States explains in great measure the proliferation of systems such as hospitals which take the patient away from the home for treatment. Talcott Parsons and Renée Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1952, p. 39.

54. Floyd Hunter, Ruth C. Schaffer, and Cecil C. Sheps, *Community Organization: Action and Inaction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 90.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

56. Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action—A Study of Community Contrast* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 159.

57. Christopher Sower, *et al.*, *Community Involvement* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 270.

58. T. Fitts, Jr. and Barbara Fitts, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

59. *Physical Examinations of Selective Service Registrants During Wartime* (Medical Statistics Bulletin, No. 3, 1944), Table 3, p. 12.

60. Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1947), p. 46.

61. Robert K. Merton, "Some Preliminaries to a Sociology of Medical Education," Robert K. Merton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

62. *Building America's Health*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 145.

63. James Bryant Conant, *Public Education and the Structure of American Society* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1946), p. 48.

64. *The Point Four Program*, Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series, 23, Division of Publications, Department of State (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

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ELEMENTS, PROCESSES AND CONDITIONS OF ACTION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
THE PROCESSUALLY ARTICULATED STRUCTURAL MODEL (PASM) †

| Processes (Elemental) | Structural-functional Categories | Elements |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Cognitive mapping and validation | Knowing | Belief (knowledge) |
| 2) a) Tension management and b) Communication of sentiment | Feeling | Sentiment |
| 3) a) Goal attaining activity and b) Concomitant "latent" activity as process | Achieving | End, goal, or objective |
| 4) Evaluation | Norming, Standardizing, Pattern-ing | Norm |
| 5) Status-role performance | Dividing the functions | Status-role (position) |
| 6) a) Evaluation of actors and b) Allocation of status-roles | Ranking | Rank |
| 7) a) Decision making and b) Initiation of action | Controlling | Power |
| 8) Application of sanctions | Sanctioning | Sanction |
| 9) Utilization of facilities | Facilitating | Facility |
| Comprehensive or Master Processes | | |
| 1) Communication | 3) Systemic linkage | 5) Socialization |
| 2) Boundary maintenance | 4) Institutionalization | 6) Social control |
| Conditions of Social Action | | |
| 1) Territoriality | 2) Size | 3) Time |

† For a more detailed version of this figure see page 8.

